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Worcestershire Relics.

BY

JOHN NOAKE,

AUTHOR OF "THE RAMBLER IN WORCESTERSHIRE," &c., &c.

DEDICATED TO MY KIND AND VALUED FRIEND,

RICHARD WOOF, ESQ., F.S.A., F.R.S.L.,

SOMETIME TOWN CLERK OF WORCESTER (FROM WHICH HONOURABLE OFFICE HE RETIRED AMIDST STRONGLY EXPRESSED PUBLIC REGRETS), AND IN RECOGNITION OF THE ABLE AND WILLING ASSISTANCE BY WHICH HE AT ALL TIMES FACILITATED MY RESEARCHES.

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Preface.

IN presenting another contribution (probably his last) towards the history of the city and county of Worcester, the Author embraces this opportunity of offering his warmest thanks for the continual kindness and patronage awarded to his works by a generous public, and of gratefully acknowledging a success which has been far beyond what he could have anticipated through the period of more than thirty years during which his literary efforts have been exerted. After the great accumulation of materials which has been made (by other writers as well as the Author) he hopes the time is not far distant when the history of the city and county will be re-written. The works of Nash and Green—now nearly a century old—no longer satisfy the requirements of the times, but may serve as good foundations for more copious and popular histories, brought down to our own day. This great work, however, can only be accomplished by a division of labour among several skilled hands; and the Author derives much satisfaction from the fact that he has contributed something towards the literary and historical acquisitions necessary for so important an undertaking, which now remains to be carried out by others.

J. NOAKE.

London Road, Worcester,
March, 1877.

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E.HERMAN
WAKEFIELD

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Our Worcester Forefathers.

MUCH has been done of late years in the investigation of the records of the city and county of Worcester; and men and women, as they walked and talked, feasted and prayed, worked and played, for the last three or four centuries, have been photographed for the amusement and profit of their posterity of the 19th century; but let it not be supposed that the materials are exhausted, especially as regards the city, for since his former publications on this subject many a heap of MSS., long buried in dust and darkness, in holes and corners, have been brought forth by the author of these pages to the light of day and to the scrutiny of their examiners, to be dealt with as they deserve. It is gratifying to state that, as a labour of love, Mr. Woof (the late Town Clerk) undertook to restore, arrange, bind, and catalogue, and the Town Council judiciously seconded the work by granting a sum for safely housing and taking care of these valuable memorials of the past; while the writer of this little work has endeavoured to perform his share of this pleasant labour by presenting to his fellow-citizens a digest of what was discovered—just another little peep into bygone times—a further *tête-a-tête* with worthies who now lie under the pavement of our churches or the sod of our burying grounds—a chit-chat with the wealthy and liberal old clothiers and mercers who founded charities and left quaint and curious wills —a few morning calls at the private houses, shops, markets, courts of justice, &c., of this our good old city. Now, "gentle reader," take my arm, and let us

saunter just where we like up and down the streets, supposing that the date of our existence was some three centuries ago and continuing up to the present year of grace, '77; we must insist on that latitude.

THE ORPHANS' COURT.

Halt! what is going on at that old timbered structure, with piazza in front, and ranges of shops right and left, with a steep flight of steps up to the principal entrance? See the crowd there, scarcely kept in order by the obese beadle and surly porter. That is the Guildhall; let us enter. We observe that the body of the hall is open to the roof, and lighted by a large window at the north end. Elevated above the general level of the flooring the courts of justice are facing each other at the extreme ends of the hall. On the right and left side of the Nisi Prius Court are the prison and the residence of the gaoler—that miserable unfeeling wretch whom you see crossing the hall with a pail full of muddy beer, which he is about to dispense to the wretched prisoners at about four times its real value (a principal perquisite of the office.) At the north end of the piazza you see the Bailiff's (Mayor's) Court, near the Crown bar; and now we shall soon perceive the cause of this large collection of lookers-on, who are clustering around the little court—an aggregate mass of dirt, rags, and curiosity. Sitting up aloft, in grand robes and backed with the insignia of office, are Masters Christopher Dyghton and Thomas Wallesgrove, bailiffs (Mayors), Robert Yowle and W. Gylles, very venerable and portly aldermen, Thos. Dowdinge and Thos. Heywood, the most trustworthy and accountable chamberlains. The beadle whispers to us that it is the Court of Orphans sitting, and presently Mr. High Bailiff, who is the "master" or "judge of orphans," rises, and the following oath is administered to him by Mr. Edward Darnell, the Town Clerk:—

"Ye shall be good and trew to ower Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth and to her heyres and successors, Kings and Queens of Englande. Ye shall, in suche convenient time as ye may, call before you all executors and executrixes of parties deceased, and survey and view all such testyments, if anye goods and cattels be given therein to any ynfants or younge chyldren. Ye shall commit the keepynge of them and theyre goods to theyre friends, taking sufficiente sureties for ye delivery of ye same goods of ye same orphans, accordinge to theyre parents' and friends' last willes and testyments, and to doe alle and everythinge that dothe belonge to your office as nere as ye may to your knowledge and cunning—Soe help ye God."

Presently enters the common crier, wearing an overwhelming livery coat, and under his arm is the instrument of his office. He is followed by a brace of substantial looking townsmen, habited in their best coats and hosen, with gowns lined with rabbit or fox skins—I am not sure which—and the usual swords dangling (for all citizens carry arms.) One of these is a brewer and the other a weaver, who, being executors of the will of a deceased townsman, have received the usual warning from the crier to attend the court, and they now produce the will and inventory of the testator, the said inventory having been made by the 'praysers duly appointed by the same court. The executors are then sworn as follows:—

"Ye shall swere that ye have presented and showed forthe to the bailiffs, aldermen, and others appointed, all such goods, cattels, plate, jewels, household stuffe, wares, and merchandice, as were your late testator's. Ye have lefte owte noe redye money; ye have charged hym withe noe detts but such as ye ought; ye have made no detts which ye thincke in youre co'science to be good detts neyther doutefull nor desperat, but doune in althings uprightlie as a executor ought to doe—So help ye God."

The town clerk, who is also "clerk to the orphans," takes the will and inventory, and deducting debts and such costs for funeral expenses as the substance and position of the deceased warranted (there was no apeing

the gentry in weddings and funerals in those days), he divides the goods detailed on the paper into two parts —one to go to the orphans and the other to be applied as specified in the will. The executors then produce sureties for the faithful husbanding of the orphans' estate till they come of age, at which time all parties will reappear at this court, and the executors then receive from the orphans a written discharge for the due performance of their trust. And now, the business of the court having come to an end, the crowd of "unwashed," as eager after sensual as the ancient Greeks were for intellectual excitement, leave the hall in a body for "The Grasse Crosse" (opposite Mr. Birley's, now the Civet Cat), where a large bull-ring and staple, near the then White Hart Inn, indicate what sport Mr. High Bailiff has prepared for his fellow citizens in the afternoon. The reader and I, not patronising such brutal exhibitions, stay behind in company with the sedate "clerk to the orphans," and having sent across to "The Globe" for a pottle of sack, we discuss with him the nature and history of this "Court of Orphans," and are allowed freely to inspect his books.

By the charter of 1st and 2nd Philip and Mary (1554) it would appear, then, that the city of Worcester —whether originally then or a re-enactment, I can't say—obtained the benefit of a very valuable institution, which, as supplying simple but effectual machinery for accomplishing a most important part of the social purposes or requirements of the day, it seems a great pity was ever allowed to become obsolete or to be supplanted by subsequent legislation. This was the court for proof and registry of *all* wills made in the city, and also for the care of orphans and their property, which was vested in the corporate body. In the following details this two-fold operation of the court must not be lost sight of. Here is the extract

(modernised spelling) from the aforesaid charter relative to wills generally :—

"And that the said bailiffs, aldermen, and chamberlains of the city aforesaid, for the time being for ever, at the suit of the party, shall have full power and authority of proving all testaments of whatsoever lands, tenements, rents, services, and hereditaments, bequeathed within the said city of Worcester, the suburbs and precincts thereof, within two years after the death of the testator, so that such testaments and bequests be proclaimed in full court of the Guildhall of the same city and on the rolls of the same court enrolled, and that the same testaments, after such proclamation and enrolment, may and shall be of record for ever."

Next follows the clause relative to the Orphans' Court :—

"And, further, we, the aforesaid King and Queen, desiring to provide for the safety, defence, and bringing up of the orphans and infants which shall hereafter be and happen to be in the city aforesaid, and that their lands, tenements, goods, and chattels, shall be conferred and disposed of to the best use and profit of the same orphans during their minority for the more abundant advantage and utility of the same orphans and infants, of our special grace and our certain knowledge and mere motion do will, and by these presents for us and the heirs and successors of us the aforesaid Queen do grant to the aforesaid bailiff, aldermen, chamberlains, and citizens aforesaid, for the time being, and to their successors, that they may and shall have for ever hereafter the custody and guardianship of all and singular orphans whatsoever of the citizens within the city aforesaid and the liberties thereof, and that they may and shall have authority, faculty, and power of receiving, levying, collecting, keeping, and causing to be kept in the common treasury of the city aforesaid, for the time being, all goods and chattels, and debts and legacies whatsoever, within the city aforesaid, the suburbs and precincts thereof, happening, arising, found, or being, of whatsoever orphans of any of the citizens of the city aforesaid hereafter happening to die, and the same goods and chattels, debts, and legacies, to place out, use, employ, and dispose of, for the better use and behoof, advantage, and profit of the same orphans, and that for the same goods, chattels, debts, and legacies, together with the increase and profit thereof, to the same orphans shall pay and deliver at such age and in the

same manner and form in all things as in our city of London in that behalf now is or formerly hath been used and accustomed, and that they shall have all and such actions and remedies for the taking away and seizure of any orphans happening to be within the same city of Worcester, and for the recovery of their goods, chattels, debts, and legacies, and all such and such-like officers for the better protection and preservation of those orphans and their goods, chattels, debts, and legacies, as and which in the aforesaid city of London heretofore hath been or ought to have been used, and that they shall execute and perform all and singular other things touching such orphans or their goods and chattels, debts, and legacies, which in our said city of London heretofore hath been used to be executed, done, or performed, and not otherwise nor in any other manner. All which we will and by these presents do command to be inviolably observed."

Two books only—"The Book of the Orphans' Court" and "The Book of Wills"—remain in the possession of the Corporation to indicate the purposes and operations of the "Court of Wills and Orphans," having recently been found in the archives of the Charity Trustees and kindly presented by them to the Corporation. They commence with the year 1561, and range over nearly a century. At one end of the wills book is fixed a sheet almanack of the above year (3rd Eliz.), which, as being scarce and curious, will be described hereafter. Both books are bound in ornamental leather, and one of them has three straps crossing the back, the middle strap terminating with a buckle at one end and flap at the other. On the book of wills is inscribed—

"This booke for the entringe of wylls and testaments that the orphants when they come of aige maye se their fathers' gyfts, the clarke takinge for searche iiij (4*d.*) and for the copye of the wylle if hit be requyred, to take for everie shete of paper wrytinge iiij*d.* and not above, upon payne of losinge of his office, and that he do regestr. all testaments comynge to his handes uppon like paine above mencioned, takinge his fee for the same. God, who is all truthe, gyve grace to all the doers hereof to do the same. Amen. God save Quene Elizabeth."

There is likewise a list of fees, and a body of rules and regulations, the latter setting forth that within a month after the death of any freeman his executors shall be warned by the town crier to attend the court, to be there bound by recognisance to bring, on a certain fixed day, the will and inventory of the testator; appraisers dwelling in the same ward as the deceased to be chosen by the court. When the will and inventory are produced, together with sureties, the executors take the oath as before-named, and then the clerk, after setting apart so much for funeral and debts, divides the goods (estate) "into three p'tes, whereof the wife must have the thirde parte, the children one other, and the thride is res'rved for the performance of the will of the testator." If the testator have no wife, then the goods to be divided into two parts, whereof the children to have one and the other reserved as before said. If the testator have no children, the wife to have one-half. Four sureties to be taken for every orphanage and four for every legacy. On the Monday after Midlent Sunday in every year the sureties were called before the court, and if they had made default they forfeited to the city 2*d.* in the £. for as much as they were bound for. If the orphan married without the licence of the court, being under age, she forfeited 12*d.* in the £. of her portion to the use of the city. Such children as were married in the life-time of the father, and had received anything in advance, were not to be partakers of any portion after the death of the father. The court was very rigid in its rules to prevent the improper treatment of orphans. When they came of age and received their portion they were bound to acknowledge satisfaction in open court. There is one instance in which a Margaret Ann Fleete appoints her father-in-law, Edward Hodson, glazier, her *attorney* for receiving her legacy, as she lived in Lancashire. These acquittances, or receipts signed and sealed by the

legatees, appear in the book, together with certificates of clergymen and churchwardens as to the age of the legatees, their marriages by "holie church," or deaths, copied from various church registers. Some sign their initials in a monogram or peculiar mark, some have both signs and names, some with names only, and there are some marks without names; very few crosses are seen, the Puritan element being then at work in society. Only one monogram or mark indicative of the writer's trade or calling is observable in the books, namely, that of Arnold Beane, a barge-owner, who signs with an anchor. Here is a special entry of an acquittance :—

(1575). "Mem. the 28th day of Sep. in the 17th yeare of the rayne of our Sovraine Ladie Elizabeth, Thomas Carter, sonne of William Carter, have receyved at the hands of Mr. Christopher Dyghton, master of the orphans, two brass potts, too platters, two pottingers, too sawcers, and fower silver spones, brought into this court by John Mownslow, boocher, and remayned in the custody of Edward Darnell, town clerk, which potts and pewter and too of the spones were given unto the said Thomas and Margarett by Thomas Carter, their grandfather, deceased, and the other too spones were given unto them by Alice W——, the said Thomas theyre grandfather's wyff (the word 'wyff' marked out, as though the lady did not bear exactly that tender relation to the old gentleman), as ys credybly reported and affirmed by John Cocks her sonne."

Next we see an "acquittance" by a legatee, 20th Elizabeth :—

"Be it knowen to all by these presents that I, Richard Lee, of the parish of Feckenham, within the countie of Worcester, have remysed, released, and perpetually quit-claimed unto Wm. Pooler, now or late of the citie of Worcester aforesaid, gent., all and all maner of actions, as well real as personal, all suits, quarrels, debts, exactions, trespasses, and demands, which I, the said Richard Lee, have had or might or ought to have against the said Wm. Pooler, by any maner of cause or coloure, from ye begynnynge of ye worlde until the day of the date of these presents."

The coming-of-age of a legatee named Richard Ashby is thus recorded :—

"Mem. it apeareath by a booke showed before Mr. John Cowcher and Mr. John Morall, bayliffs, and written by Hugh Asheby, deceased, that the said Richard Ashby was boren in Sainete Katryne's yeve after ye wynnynge of Bullen (Boulogne), which was in the year of our Lord God 1544, and in the thirtie sixt yere of the reigne of the late Harry the eight."

In general the practice appeared to be that girls were said to be of age at 18 and boys at 21 ; there is an illustration in the will of Thomas Patrick, of St. Andrew's, who bequeaths to his children certain money and household articles, "all which is to be paide when the wenches be at xviij and the boy at xxi." Thomas Wallsgrove, *alias* Fleete, left his son Thomas 40*s.* when he should come to be 15 years of age, but some legatees did not receive their portions till they were 24 or even 26 years old, the testator probably being guided by his own notions as to their arrival at years of "discretion."

INVENTORIES.

One of the best expositions of domestic life, of civilization, and of the state of the arts and sciences, is an inventory of goods and chattels ; I therefore here present a couple, taken from these books, premising that both belonged to wealthy clothiers in the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign :—

"An Innventory of the goods and cattells of Thomas Border.
Imprimis, a fowldynge borde wt. a carpett .....vs. vi*d*.
It. i forme the settels and ij chayers.....vs. vid.
It. The paynted clothes wt. viij cusshyns .....ixs.
It. i cubbord wt. ye coverynge and a pewter bason..xs. viij*d*.
It. v masslen basons wt. ij flower potts .....iiij*s.* x*d*.
It. ij awndyerns and a payre of tonges wt. a fyer shovell..ij*s*.
It. i barre of ierne wt. ij pott hanglesse .....xx*d*.

In ye p'lor (parlour)

It. A standynge bedd, wt. a mattresse, fether bedd, bolster, ij blankets, curtens, and i coverlyd ....xxxvis.
It. i cobbord wt. ye coverynge, a bason and an yewer .....xviiis. vid.
It. A bason and a laver wt. a towell.....ixs.
It. xvi flower potts.....vs.
It. A fowldynge bord wt. ye forme and settell.. xxivs. viijd.
It. ij lyttell coffers wt. ye paynted clothes ..... ijs. viijd.
It. vii cusshyns, a payre of tables, and a barre of yerne ijs. vid.

In ye buttrye and ye iner p'ler

It. platters, potengers, sawcers, pewter potts, ca'dlestycks, masslen, and a brasen morter wt. an iren pestell..iij li.
It. a cobbord wt. ye coverynge and a bason .....vis.
It. ij. tabell bords wt. ye forme and benche .....iiij s.

In ye kytchyn

It. xii potts and iiij possnets wt. ij. chafernes .....xlijs.
It. vi panes, v cawtherns, ij chafynge dysshys and ij skymbers .....xxiiijs.
It. ij fryenpanes, iij. payr of pott hooks, ij choppynge knyves .....iijs. iiijd.
It. A payr of racks, an iren barre, wt. iii lynks and a fyer pyke.....vs.
It. vi brochysse, a furnesse, and a payr of bellows ..vis. viijd
It. platters, pottyngers, sawcers, candlestycks, and masslen .....xxs.
It. ij choppynge knyves, wt. an iren ladell and a pykeaxe, a payre of brazen ballance, and a mattoke ..... iijs.

In ye bultynge house

It. a bultynge whyche, ij tubbs, iij skeles, iij bagges, and a strycke .....iijs. iiijd.
It. payles, cowles, and wother cowpye ware .....vs.
It. a candell molde and and an iern .....xijd.

In ye stabell and barne and workehowse

It. a mare, a cowe, and iij yonge hayfers .....iijli. iijs.
It. v lode of hay and iij of corne.....ls. ixd.
It. a spynynge turne and a spolynge turne .....xijd.
It. smale tymber, a malt quyrne, and a packe saddell ....vs.
It. a payr of hooks, a wat' bote, a coffer, and a troghe ..iijs.
It. skynes and all yt. belongeth to ye shoppe.....xlvis.
It. a payr of waferne irons and iij nawgars .....xijd.

In ye further chamber

It. a standynge bedd, a fether bedd, a canvasse, v blankets, a coverlyd, and a bolster ..... xvijs.
It. an other bedd, a flocke bed, a bolster, and a say .....vis.
It. ij coffers, a rownde tabell, and a lyttell tabell.....xxd.
It. ij paynted clothes .....vijd.

It. xlvi payre of shetes.....vli.
It. lx napkyns.....xijs.
It. xij tabell clothes.....xxxijs.
It. xv towels and j cubbord clothe.....xiijs.
It. xvi pillows beres.....xvijs.

In ye next chamber

It. In plate, spones, rynges, and salts.....xxvijli.
It. ij standynge beds wt. theyr curtens.....xijs.
It. ij flocke bedds, ij fether bedds, ij payr of bla'kets, ij bolsters, and ij coverlyds.....ls.
It. viij pillows.....xiiijs.
It. iij coffers wt. j tabell borde.....iiijs. xd.
It. a payre of awndyerns and a pyke forke.....ijs.

In ye chamber at ye stayer hedd

It. a mattresse, a payre of blankets, a bolster wt a coverlyd.....viijs.
It. a presse for clothes.....ijs. viijd.

In ye next chamber

It. ij mattresses, a payr of blankets, iij bolsters, a grene saye, a coverlyde, iij coffers, and an old coverynge.....xiijs. iiijd.
It. a grayne gowne furred wt. fytchon.....xxxviijs.
It. ij cotes wt. ij doblets.....xxiijs. iiijd.

In ye over chamber

It. iij fether bedds and a flock bedd, wt. theyr appurteynance.....iiijli. xixs.
It. ij payr of blankets, ij canvesses, wt. a coverlyde, and a chayr.....xis.

In ye woll chamber

It. in woll, yeorne, and clothe.....xxiijli. xiijs.
S'ma totalis.....lxxxxviijli. xviijs. viijd."

"The true inventorie taken of all the goods and cattells of Willm. Heynes late of the p'ishe of all Saincts deceased made the xxv of August in the yere of or Lorde god 1564 And praysed by Willyam Porter Harry Hamlet Thomas Crue with others.

In the halle

Imprimis ij cubbourdes one with a try'mer ij coubbourde clothes of grene say a lynnen cupborde clothe and a table bourde with a frame.....xiijs.

In the parler

Itm. A joyned bed with a tester of joyned worke.....vis.
Itm. ij fetherbeds ij bolsters and ij pillowes.....xxvs.
Itm. A flockbed a bolster a fourme by the bed sid and a coffer by the beds feete.....xs.

Itm. A table bourde with ij trissells and s'ten paynted clothes wth arisse worke ..... xs.
Itm. ij cov'letts iiij thromclothes ij pare of blanckets and a canvas ..... xxxs.
Itm. iij quisshines ..... xijs.
Itm. ij pare of flaxen sheetes and iij pere of canvas sheetes ..... xijs.
Itm. ij table clothes one of flaxen the other of hempe j table clothe of diapoure j table clothe of noggen j diapoure towell iiij table napkins and j bolster case of lynnen cloth ..... vijs.
Som' vli. xijd.

In the kichin

Itm. iij brasse potts eche biger then other ..... xiijs. iiijd.
Itm. A litell cauthorne a litell skellet a fryinge pane a chafing dyshe and a skymer ..... iijs. iiijd.
Itm. A pare of cobbards ij broches ij pare of iron lincks ij yron hookes and one pare of dogges ..... iijs
Itm. j pare of tonges a gridyron a fyre shoule a pare of pothooks a pare of bellis a close hampern ij trene platters a garlice morter a pouner j dozen of trenchers a ladle a mele seve and a chopinge knyfe ..... iijs. iiijd.
Itm. iiij shilfs ij stonds a water coule ij pales in the taverne (brewhouse?) a skele and a half barell and a pype ..ijs.
Sum' xxvs.

In the buttrye

Itm. fyve platters iij pottengers and ij sawcers ..... iiijs.
Itm. A bason an yewer and a quarte potte ..... ijs. vjd.
Itm. ij salt sellers and ij candlesticks ..... xiiijd.
Itm. half a dossen of flowre cupps and half a dozen of sponies ..... xvjd.
Som' ixs.

In the chamber ov' the parler

Itm. ij standinge beds wt. ij painted testors and one paynted cloth ..... xijs.

In a litell chamber

Itm. a bedstede a flockbed a matres and ij coffers ..... vs.
Itm. ij gownes and ij doubletts ..... xxxs.
Itm. ij jirkins and ij pare of hose ..... xvs.
Itm. iiij shirtts ..... vjs. viijd.
Itm. A sworde and a dager ..... xs.
Summa iijli. vjs. viijd.

In the woolle chamber

Itm. fyve keepes ij spyninge tournes a spoulinge tourne a castinge bourde a litele caldorne wth. oyle a bench ij shelves and iij cub's to put in wole ..... vs.

In the weaving shoppe

Itm. ij loomes v geares with shayes and all that belongeth to them ..... iiij*li.*

Itm. a rathe a warpinge bare a troughe and a quiltourne vj basketts and ij pare of shuttels a swiste and a knave to the quiltourne and iij pare of wolle sheres ..... *vs.* viij*d.*

Itm. ij lode of kidds and 'sten charcholes ..... iij*s.*

Itm. A yowen bowe and iij shafts ..... iij*s.*

Itm. A glasen window in the hall ..... ijs.

Ex concord cu' original p' me Edward Darnell."

DOMESTIC FURNITURE, &c.

Let us skim over these inventories briefly before dismissing them, remembering that the households under consideration were extraordinarily large ones, and that among the great mass of inhabitants of Worcester some dozen or fewer articles of furniture, including always a great brass pot, a board and trestles, a candlestick, a form, a settle, a bed, a coffer, basins and platters, beside wearing apparel, constituted all their worldly gear. Tables and cupboards, such as we have them, were then scarcely known : they were mere boards standing on trestles, for although boards attached to frames had been invented at an earlier period they were only used in the houses of the wealthy. The board and trestles were brought in by the domestics at each meal, and were usually cleared away before the company rose from the benches :—

> "When they had ete, and grace sayd,
> And the tabyll away was leyd,
> Up aroos Ipomydon."*

In William Heynes's inventory, above given, tables with frames and others with trestles are mentioned, showing how the old form lingered. Thomas Border, it will be observed, has "a rownde tabell" in his "further chamber." In one of the orphans' inventories a table board and trestles are appraised at 3s. Forms,

* Parker's "English Home."

stools, benches, and settles, supplied the sitting accommodation, chairs being rarely used but in the mansions of the rich, and then but one or two, intended to honour the principal guests, so that, as Mr. Parker suggests, "taking the chair" even in private life perhaps implied something more than common civility. Mr. William Heynes had but "a fourme" by his bedside, and at the feet a coffer or chest, such as may still be seen plentifully in old farm-houses. Mr. Border has three "chayers" in his establishment, but they are elsewhere only scantily mentioned. "Children's stools" are set down in the inventory of a deceased Worcester cooper. Settles, together with the hangings, "painted cloths," and "arisse worke," which hung around the apartments, and the rushes on the floor, served partially to protect the inmates from the frightful draughts of air which must have been a necessary consequence of those old half-timbered unpaper'd walls, unceiled roofs, long passages, and the rough carpentry of the doors. Wainscotted and tapestried apartments were the exception, not the rule; and although carpets of English manufacture had long been in existence they were considered as only effeminate luxuries. Mr. Border has but one in his house, and that probably by the bedside, and the walls of one of his chambers were hung with green saye, or the serge of Ghent. This was probably the best chamber, kept chiefly for guests; but Mr. Heynes hangs green saye in his hall. The "brochysse" mentioned in the inventory just given were spits, for cooking joint or fowl; they were turned by boys or aged people unfit for other occupation, and subsequently by dogs. "Awndyrons" were irons used to support the wood fires, sometimes called "fire-dogs," or "dog-irons." In the inventory "a pair of doggs" is mentioned. These were sometimes made of silver or copper, elaborately wrought, but the prevailing form was the "swan-neck." No entry of "pokers"

occurs, but the "fyre pyke" or "yren barre" was probably the same thing. Hooks were more useful for wood fires, until the introduction of coals rendered pokers or iron bars necessary. The hand-bellows had been applied to domestic use for two centuries before the reign of Elizabeth. Fenders were a much later invention. "Cawtherns" probably meant cauldrons or great boilers; "chaferns" were chafing dishes; "sawcers," not for the reception of tea-cups (then unknown), but small vessels or tureens for sauce; "maslin" basins was the name of the mixed metal of which they were made, as candlesticks of maslin are also named, and the word is still in use; "bell candlesticks" (what were these?); "treen-ware platters" meant plates and dishes of wood, for common use, while the platters and trenchers of pewter were for more special occasions; and probably the "cowpye ware" signified dishes, pails, or vessels of wood, as in a cooper's inventory there is mention made of "cowpye ware, ready made," and "cowps timber that is rough, unwrought." In another document I have since found the term "cowpar's (cooper's) ware." A "set" or "service" of dining ware was called a "garnish." Entries occur in some of the inventories of square platters and sawcers. The introduction of pewter in the place of wood platters and silver and tin spoons instead of wooden ones is noticed by Holinshed as proofs of the progress of what he calls "luxury." In the village where he lived were old men dwelling who remembered when a man would hardly find four pieces of pewter in a substantial farmer's house; and from the records of Lyme, Dorsetshire, it appears that the vicar of that parish presented 24 pewter platters to be lent yearly for the profit of the poor—that is, probably, were lent out to church ales and other feasts, and the money paid for the use of them was given to the poor; and there was the "town pewter," for the use of the

Corporation, who, in the language of the chronicler, found "the means to obtain or achieve such furniture as heretofore hath been impossible." But a wonderful progress was made in the reigns of Henry 8th and Elizabeth in the introduction of domestic comforts, as compared with the period when chimneys were unknown and the smoke was allowed partly to escape through a hole in the centre of the great hall roof—when straw pallets, covered only with the coarsest of cloths, were slept on by the owners with all their wearing apparel on, or by the cleaner sort of people entirely naked—when round logs were used for bolsters, pillows being thought fit only for women in child-bed—when men and women ate their meat with the aid of their fingers alone, drank out of one common "black jack," and allowed their dogs to polish off their bones underneath the board. Yet old men bewailed the change: the introduction of chimneys, they said, had brought rheums, catarrhs, and poses, while, before pillows existed, heads never did ache! The improved mode of building had, according to their views, done much harm, for when houses were built of willow the men were of oak, and when oak began to be used then were the men of willow. So at a much later period stage coaches were to cause the extinction of hackney horses; guano was to occasion universal disease, and when the cholera came it was attributable to that fertiliser, though perhaps far distant from where any had been applied to the soil.* But to return to our inventories.

Wainscots and glazed windows are always separately specified and bequeathed in wills and also figure separately in the appraisements. Although glass had been used for centuries it was not yet become common, the lattice window prevailing, and glaziers being very few. It would seem as though glazed windows and wainscots were made movable, and I have frequently

* Roberts's "Southern Counties."

read of their being removed and carried by ecclesiastics and others visiting their various manor-houses, so as to do duty in each. We know that their kitchen and cooking furniture was so carried, and that those who had charge of this important department were called "the black-guard;" hence the origin of that term of contempt. A "lanthorne of glass" is specially named in an inventory, as though rarely made of that expensive material. These useful little articles are said to owe their origin to the illustrious King Alfred, who had previously had his royal ingenuity sorely taxed to prevent his candles from being extinguished by the horrid draughts which penetrated through the cracks and crevices of the palace. What must then have been the dwellings of the poor, but mere sheds or mud hovels, in which they burrowed like swine for warmth! A bed-room in the time of Elizabeth was however a vast improvement on this. The reader will be surprised to see one of the parlours in Mr. Border's large establishment appropriated as a bed-room, but this was the general custom of the day. The French gentry used to receive their guests while in bed, and the English must of course imitate the custom; but although the latter were the first to abandon it, the practice of keeping a great "standynge bedde" in the parlour seems to have prevailed for a lengthened period. This great bedstead was the four-poster, introduced in the 15th century; previous to which was the "tester of joyned worke," suspended from the roof of the chamber; before that was the truckle-bed, which was long afterwards continued in use for inferior apartments; and prior to all these, the bed, or sackful of straw, was laid on a bench, or in a recess, with a curtain suspended before it, and rushes and other litter on the floor. "Wainscoat" bedsteads are mentioned in some of the wills which I shall have to produce. The hangings of beds and bed-rooms were in some cases most fantasti-

cally decorated with figures of birds, beasts, trees, and various devices; pillow-cases and towels were wrought with black, "most curious to see," and in an old Durham will a pillow is set down which had on it the figure of Christ, for the owner's head to repose upon; coverlets of "all colours of the rainbow;" sheets made of flax, canvas, or hemp, and so durably constructed as to afford warmth and comfort to three or four generations, *vide* Mr. John Wild, the clothier, of Worcester, who in 1611 left to his son a pair of "fine sheets which were his grandfather's, Mr. Gibbs, and have Mr. Gibbs his marke on them;" and to his daughter "a coverlet of red and green and one towel wrought with black which were her grandfather's." Bed mats, "quisshines" (cushions), thromcloths, Holland sheets, and diaper towels, are also included in the bed-chamber appointments. The front bed-room was denominated "the fore-streete chamber."

Not only beds, but wearing apparel, plate, and the never omitted "great brass potte" or pan, with sometimes one or two smaller editions of the same article, figure most prominently as bequests from father to son through several generations. Many instances occur in which mention is made of "the great pott of brasse which I had with my wiff," so that this piece of furniture was not unfrequently a lady's dower. Under the will of John Nash, fuller, some 300 years ago, his three children, John, Hugh, and Jane, divided the paternal effects thus: John had the table boards in the hall and parlour, the cupboards, forms, settles, hangings, and bed, in the same apartment, the "grett potte and a grett cowthorne," a "sylver salte at his mother's decesse" (valued then at the very large sum of £3. 13s. 4d.), a murrey gowne, "wolsted jacket," the "second dublett," and a cow and calf. Hugh comforted himself with the best pan, the second pot, the "bed in the fore-streete chamber," two silver

spoons, and a cow and calf; while Miss Jane had assigned to her "the potte which the testator bought of one Griffin," the second cawthorne, a "bed by her mother's appointment," two silver spoons after her mother's decease, one charger, and a cow and calf. The best silver ale cup or goblet was a heirloom for centuries. Widow Street (20th Eliz.) leaves to her son the precious goblet which was his grandfather Collynge's. In one of the following wills it will be seen that Arnold Hall, a clothier, bequeaths to his children a silver cup and a dozen spoons which he had bought of the Bishop's wife. This was in the 21st year of Elizabeth, and the Bishop of Worcester was then John Whitgift, the great defender of the reformed church, and afterwards Archbishop. It will be a curious question as to what induced his wife to sell their plate. Silver spoons also descended through generations, and these were frequently described as being wrought with the apostles' heads. Richard Wheler, a clothier, leaves a dozen spoons, one-half of which were engraved with the heads of "the smallest of the apostles" and the other half with maidens' heads, and to his daughter "one silver spoone of ye apostles, with a turne uppe on ye head;" while John Rowlands the clothier has lions at the end of his spoons, and Thomas Carter bequeaths to his grandson Edward a silver spoon "with a strawberry end." Silver pins and silver rings are also frequent items of jewellery. One silver salt is mentioned with a naked man and child on the top of the gilt cover, the man having a spear in his hand. This was a great era for plate, and beautiful works of art of the goldsmiths' craft abounded in this country. Indeed for a long period prior to the time of which I am speaking this description of wealth was highly popular, as being more portable and convenient than others. As Mr. Parker observes, on a political or family emergency the

nobles and even the King himself sold or pledged the household plate to raise the dower of a daughter or the ransom of a relative. The baron, too, could conceal his treasure in time of war and gratify his pride by displaying it in time of peace—advantages which sufficiently compensated for the loss sustained by reducing it to ingots in times of necessity. The growth of banking checked this accumulation of household plate.

ANCIENT WILLS : DRESS, &c.

One of the greatest social characteristics of the time of Elizabeth, and especially noticeable in the wills of the Worcester citizens, was the love of finery and sumptuous apparel. Strype informs us that "This excess grew on apace and gave great offence to pious people, who thought it consisted not with the gravity and seriousness of a nation professing true religion to lash out so excessively that way, many spending upon their backs more than they could well spare, to the impoverishing of themselves and families and to the decay of charity." Her Majesty therefore in the year 1559 issued a proclamation against excess of apparel, but which was a revival of the previous sumptuary statutes of Philip and Mary and Henry 8th. Allowance however was given for the wearing of "certain costly furs and rich embroideries bought and made by sundry gentlemen before this proclamation, to their great cost." One of the prelates of that time pictures the dress of his contemporaries in this manner : "These fine fingered rufflers, with their sables about their necks, corked slippers, trimmed buskins, and warm mittens, furred stomachers, and long gowns ; those tender parnels must have one gown for the day, another for the night—one long, another short—one for winter, another for summer—one furred through and another but faced—one for the work day,

another for the holy day—one of this colour, another of that—one of cloth, another of silk or damask ; change of apparel, one afore dinner, another after—one of Spanish fashion, another of Turkey ; and to be brief, never content with enough, but always devising new fashions and strange ; yea, a ruffian will have more on his ruff and his house than he should spend in a year. He who ought to go in a russet coat spends as much in apparel for him and his wife as his father would have kept a good house with." All this will be abundantly exemplified in the following Worcester wills, together with other curious details ; *ex. gr.*, how amusing to note the minuteness of the bequests of clothing—a lady leaves her second-best gown to a friend ; John Pynke his best shirt to his brother ; Wm. Archbold, mercer and draper, of St. Swithin's, his velvet night-cap to his cousin Thomas ; and, to crown all, Christopher Nend, weaver, of St. Helen's, bequeaths his flaxen shirt to his father and his *horse-flesh breeches* to his brother ! Then what kindly feeling is apparent in many of these last testaments—what a general remembrance of the poor—old and faithful servants thought of as members of the family —"my old bedwoman 6s. 8d. and her dyner ev'y sooneday so long as she lyveth"—there was a genial-minded man, that Bertram Cox the dyer ! Workpeople, journeymen, and neighbours, all came in for a parting memento, if only a "kerchief" apiece, or a crooked coin to be broken betwixt them as a token of affection. Then think of a dowlas shirt being left to "Rd. Yfeton, weaver, which married with my servant ;" of the sums of money left to "promote" poor maidens' marriages (the origin, probably, of what is now called "maiden money") ; of the dying request that neighbours and friends should "make merry withal" after the funeral ; of the money left to "honest young men" to trade with, free of interest.

This last item however was a stretch beyond the fair limit of good-natured confidence in public honesty, as there is hardly one of these sums so bequeathed in the city of Worcester but what is now lost, through bankruptcy, fraud, or carelessness. It will be noted that the large majority of the testators directed their bodies to be buried in the Cathedral yard—a very restricted space when so much of it was covered with houses and enclosures, since removed. As this custom prevailed over a lengthened period, the remains of mortality in the said ground must have been enormous. Such trifling sums as 12d. to be bequeathed towards the repairs of a church, and even smaller amounts for some high altar, will be noticed in the religious element, as likewise the anxiety evinced to settle matters with the clergy by paying up neglected tithes [this was probably in lieu of mortuaries] and leaving handsome sums for funeral sermons; but the reader is specially requested to observe the varying forms of expression used in commending their souls to heaven, the invocation of the Virgin Mary and the saints here and there denoting the Papist, and the sole reliance in the atonement of Christ the reformed Churchman, these two great parties in the religious strife of that day being perhaps not far from a numerical equality. It was a custom of the time to appoint not only executors for a will, but "overseers," whose duty it was to see that the executors did theirs; in many instances the widow was left sole executrix, one of the testators saying of his better-half—"in whom I put my trust to see me honestly brought to yearth;" but in other instances there was evidently not the same amount of affection between the wedded pair, the widow being relieved of any share in the executorship, and even subjected to the degradation of a special clause—clever and judicious enough, no doubt, in some cases—to the effect that if she or any one else

attempted to go to law in respect of the property their portion of the same was to be null and void. But now we proceed to give brief abstracts of the most noticeable wills in this highly interesting book :—

Thomas Wylde, clothier, 1558, includes "Our blessed Lady" among the Divine Beings to whom he bequeaths his soul ; desires "that there be at my burial as many prestes and clarckes to praye for my soule as may be convenyant, and a sermond made by some discrete lerned man, having for his paynes 6s. 8d. ;" to twelve pore men to bear lightes at my buriall, a black gown each ; "to the pore, to pray for my soule and all Christen sowles," £13. 6s. 8d. ; "lykewyse to the pore at or before my monthes mynde," £6. 13s. 4d. *(Dies anniversarii* were solemn days appointed to be celebrated in commemoration of the death or martyrdom of saints, or when people were wont to pray for the souls of their deceased friends, according to the obituary customs of the Roman Catholic Church, mentioned in the statute of Ed. 6, c. 14. It was called a "year-day" or "mind day"—*i.e.* memorial day, or to be kept in mind. It was one of the trading devices of the priests, who got many a legacy for continuing the memorial of deceased friends. It will be seen that, like many other ancient customs which had obtained a hold on the public affections, it was continued after the reformation.) Upon the highways between Worcester and Kempsey he orders £20 to be laid out. For "ye mariage of 20 maydens to be maryed within the cittie of Worcester within two yeares next after my deathe," £20, by 20s. each, at the discretion of the executors, "where need shall require." He gave Little Pitchcroft and 4½ acres of meadow in Great Pitchcroft to the Corporation on condition that within two years after his decease they should erect and establish a free school in the city "to bringe uppe youthe in their A B, mattens, even-

songe, and other lernynge, which shall make them mete and reddie to ye Kinges gramer scole," but if not done within two years then the said lands to revert to his heirs. He left to his son Robert the manor of Dodford and all his lands and tenements in St. Peter's parish; to his son George £50 and all his lands and tenements belonging to the chantry of Salwarpe; to Thomas, his son, £50 and the lease and indenture of the parsonage of Kempsey, Norton, and Stoulton, with corn and hay, a bull, some oxen, mares, two iron-bound waynes, two ditto tombrells,* and all the implements that belonged to the said parsonage of Kempsey. To his daughters Margaret, Esther, and Alice, he left £150 each, and on their marriage a feather bed and their mother's raiment equally divided between them. To his brothers 40s. each, "and forgive them what they owed me." To every one of his brethren and sisters' children 6s. 8d. for "a remembrance." To each of his brothers a black gown. His father Ledington to have the keeping and government of his two eldest daughters, or, if he died, then his cousin, Thomas Heywood, was to undertake it. Elianor his wife to have the custody and management of the two youngest sons and youngest daughter; and, if his wife married again, "then the children's portions to be put into the Chamber of the city, unlesse her husbande shall finde sufficient suretie for the same." To every one of his apprentices and journeymen he leaves a black coat and 6s. 8d., and to each of his maid servants a black gown and 6s. 8d. His wife and son Robert were appointed executors; and his father Walle, his father Ledington, and his cousin Heywood, are desired to be "overseers" of the will.

[The bequest above alluded to seems to have been the origin of the school founded and further endowed

* A low rolling cart or carriage.

three years later by Queen Elizabeth, and still perpetuated in the Tything; see more hereafter.]

Bertram Cox, dyer, 1555, after providing a dinner for his "old bedwoman" every Sunday during her life, leaves to several of his friends a great cheese each, "to Mrs. Ellice a kecher clothe," and to Wm. Coles, the "overseer" of his will, his green coat and best sword and buckler.

Walter Walcroft desires his body to be buried in "St. Mary Church hey"—that is probaby the Cathedral graveyard.

Thomas Boordar, 1558, destines his body for the same place, "between the sextry and the cross there" (the sextry was a lodging for one of the officers, and the cross near the north porch was where sermons were sometimes preached to the citizens). He gives his best fox-furred gown to Walter Welles "for the xx shillinges had of him at Brydge Northe." "To my father Cleyfild my gowne furred with black cony (rabbit); to my cousin Roger Ffolliott my pewk gown that I had at my cosyn Hollwey's buriall;" a russet gown, faced with black cony, to another; a russet gown with grey cony, a blew cloke, a pewk coate, an unwater'd chamlett dublett, a cotton coat with sleeves, and a blewe sleveles coate, all separately to other parties; a hoop ring of gold to another; 4d. to the high altar of the Cathedral; and ditto to St. Peter's Church.

The will of John Ryder, skinner, will explain many of the terms used in describing the linings of gentlemen's dress: his shop effects (skins) are thus set forth :—

ij c. of white crispin lambe, praysed at ..... xxxs.
j c. of white lambe ..... xs.
6 doz. of black conyes skens ..... xxiijs.
8 foxe cases ..... viijs.

1 timber of Ffychoves* ..... vis. viij*d.*
10 stagers———— ..... xij*d.*
5 wylde † catteskins ..... xx*d.*
j c. of blacke lambe ..... xiij*s.* iv*d.*
9 doz. budge ..... iij*li.* iij*s.* iv*d.*
Grey conye skins ..... ij*s.*
7 tame cattes skins ..... ij*s.*
1 dos. of black conyes skins ..... ij*s.*
iij qr. of a hundred of white lambe ..... vij*s.* vi*d.*

Thos. Gold, of St. Michael's, bequeaths to his daughter "the house where the mill standeth in and the grindstone belonging thereto."

Robert Slye, weaver, 1560, leaves a fustian dublett, a best satin ditto, a russett hose, a workday coat, and other things, separately, among friends and relations.

Wm. Tandy, corviser, 1558, leaves 8d. to the high altar of St. Nicholas, and to the poor people's chest there 12d., also to the repairs of the said church 12d.; to his daughter "two sylver spones with mayden heads, a pewter platter, a pottinger, and a candlestick; to my brother Edmund my raised jerkyn of lether, and to my mother Alice Tandy a Spaynyshe piece of viij*d.*"

Loret Beyrdesley, widow, who seems to have been a Romanist by her "beads," thus allocates her goods and finery: "my best carpett, two of my best coffers, two masculyne (maslin?) basons, a lytle cathorne, my best girdles, and my best bedes, a chaffron, a posnet, and eight quosshins (cushions), my second gyrdle, with pypes of sylver, my bedes of ivery, with silver gaudes (a rosary, or beads, used in devotional exercises, the name probably derived from "Gaude Virgo Christipara"), and my wolsted (worsted) kyrtle," all to various parties; to my cousin Wm. Reynolds "my husband's puke gowne, lyned with black lambe;" and to female

* The ffychove, or fitcher, as it is still called, is the stoat, or some animal of that kind. The term "timber" means a certain number of skins, and the word is not yet extinct.

† This formidable animal, it will be seen, was not then extinct.

friends "my puke gowne furred with shanks and my red kyrtle edged with velvet."

Kath. Heywood, widow, of St. Helen's, distributes among her female neighbours "a carchyff and a partlett" to each, a sheet and a platter to every one of her godchildren, and "to Goodman Crosbye a gold ring which he gave me."

Margaret Browne, widow, of Allhallows, among other things leaves silver hooks and eyes, a woolsted apron, and two silver pins. [Worsted, or woolsted, was first produced in the 14th century in the little village of Worsted, near Norwich, and for a long time supplied cheap hangings for the chambers of the middle classes, as well as material for warm clothing.]

Ann Whittington, widow, leaves her best satin kirtle to her mother, and to her sister a cassock, guarded with velvet, pewke cassock, and medley cassock, furred with otter fur.

Harriet Berdesley, widow, had amongst her worldly possessions 13 silver spoons "wth th'appostles," the usual bed in the parlour, great brass pot, six "counterfett dysshes," best carpet, best girdle, and best bed quilt, all left to her son Walter; while her daughter Elizabeth received flaxen and hempen sheets, the second girdle with pipes of silver, beads of ivory with silver gauds, and a worsted kirtle.

Margaret Strete, widow, desires her body to be buried in the Cathedral porch, and among her furniture were pillow beres (cases) with boan lace and flaxen sheets "with a boan lace thro' ye myddell." She had lent one Thomas Staunton 40s. on a brass pan and a gown of his wife's which "he had layd to gage" (pawned); and of this sum she bequeaths 6s. 8d. to George the butcher's son, her godson. (Gaging or pawning of pots and pans, wearing apparel, and even the communion plate, was not uncommon in

those days; and the city chamberlains from time to time regularly handed over to their successors these "gages" of brazen pots, table boards, cupboards, pieces of cloth, chaffing-dishes, &c., apparently taken in distress or held as security from the tenants of the Corporation.)

John Nash, of St. Nicholas, 1558, leaves "a murrey gowne and wolsted jacket."

Thomas Bannams, smith, of All Saints, hands over his awndfyld (anvil) to his brother-in-law.

Arnold Beane, "walker and sherman," All Saints, owns several barges, named "The Ragged Staff," "The Speedwell," "The Swallow," "Black Pear," and "Luk" (Luck), which he divides amongst his sons, and leaves "to the childe my wiff now goeth with, whatever it be, boye or wenche, vj*li.* viij*s.* iv*d.*"

Goodlack Edwards, clothier, 1559, requests that "Mr. Halle, if he will take the paynes, or some other lerned man, at ye discretion of my executors, shall preache a sermond at my buriall, wherein he shall trulye and faithfull teache our deliv'raunce from synn and free remyssion in Christe Jesu, and in the same exhorte men diligentlie to do good workes commanded of God in Scripture; and also the sermond shal teche the faithe in the resurrection of Jesus Crist, *and he (I)* to have for his paines vj*s.* viij*d.*" This Mr. Edwards was one of the numerous clothiers then abounding in the city, and he held besides of the Dean and Chapter the farms or manors called Hardwick and Pittensaries, in St. John's. To his brother John and sister Wynefred he left as a token of love "one crucked ryall equally to be broken and delivered betwixt them by my executrix," a French crown in gold to his brother, and to every one of his godsons "one Edward shilling."

Edward Crosbie, draper, of St. Swithin's, leaves one of his bows, his sword and buckler, to Oliver Tomson, six arrows to P. Nicolas, and to Jas. Collyson, his

apprentice, 40s., conditionally, "that he will faithfully serve out the time of his yers specifyed in his indenture with Oliver Tomson, so that ye said Oliver Tomson do use him no worse than I have done; and if they too do agree, the said Oliver to paye him at ye ende of his tyme xiijs. iv*d.* accordyng to his indenture. And if ye said James do not agree to serve oute his yeres with him I will then that he shal have but xx*s.* and his indenture." His wife's clothing Mr. Crosbie divides in detail among some female servants and others; to Roger Elf his best fustian doublet, his brown frice jerkin lined with white cotton, to Rd. Fryer his best taffeta doublet and his English Bible, to Rd. Fisher of the College his lute, a medley coat of Kentish cloth to Thos. Harley, "a rapier and dowles shurt to Rd. Yfeton, weaver, which maryed with my servante," to one of his godsons "as much new dowles as will make him two new shurts, and as moche brown frice as wyl make him a cotte;" and lastly "to Mr. John Rolland my borre (boar?) to make merry withal." (What can be the meaning of this?)

John Cocks, of St. Helen's, clerk (*i.e.*, clergyman), bequeaths "to ten maids xx*s.* a peece towards ye preferment of their maryage, whereof Margaret my servant to be one."

One of the wealthiest and most distinguished of our Worcester clothiers was Robert Yowle, a "capital citizen," who left his body "to be buryed before ye pulpit of ye Cathedral church, as nere to Elianor my wyfe as may convayniently bee" (this was probably his first wife, as immediately afterwards he proceeds to mollify the existing Mrs. Yowle, thus): "to Margaret my loving wife," a house, with table boards, forms, trestles, settles, glass, bedsteads, portals, presses, stoles, coffers, chests, "and all maner of joyned work and timber work whatsoever, also the orchard and all other

thinges beinge the late Grey Friars* which are conteyned in a lease of a demise of the bailiff, aldermen, and chamber of the cittie, &c., so longe as shee remayne unmarried, and alsoe 500 marks to her, besides the goodes lefte to her and her children by her late husbande." He gave 20s. to the poor-box of St. Helen's. To his daughter he left several houses in "Grey Friar-street." His possessions included a large number of houses in the city, amongst which was the then famous hostelry "The Cardinal's Hat," which changed its name in more Protestant days to "The Coventry Arms," Friar-street. This house was at that time occupied by one Roger Bury. Mr. Yowle's will occupies five closely written pages of the large book I am now examining. Besides the houses before-named and his own mansion he held "St. Martin's Croft, and St. Ellen's Arbour, which latelie belonged to the Commanders of St. Wolstan's;" he owned lands, woods, houses, &c., at Stoke Prior and Kidderminster, also "lands at Portfields which did belonge to the chantry of St. Ellen's," a portion of the tithes of Colwall, lands that had belonged to Tewkesbury monastery, lands at Clerkenleppe and Kempsey "which belonged to the chantrey or finding of a priest in ye parish churche of St. Elyn's;" ditto, at St. Peter's. Perry woods were his also. He left "The Anthelopp," † in Broad-street, of the yearly rent of £4 10s., and other houses in St. Andrew's and St. Swithin's parishes, "to the commons of the city, to helpe paye theyre taxes, fifteenths, subsidies, contributions, harnessing of men for ye warres," &c., to be managed for ever by the chamberlains of the city, who were to have 2s. yearly for their trouble; and if ever the proceeds should be applied to other purposes the testator's heirs to have power to

*Afterwards the site of the late city gaol, and now of Laslett's almshouses.

† The Antelope was at one time a favourite sign for inns.

reclaim the property. (Alas ! poor Mr. Yowle's good intentions towards "the commons" have long since evaporated, his heirs all dead or unknown, and the property divided amongst a hundred owners.) To the poor of St. Helen's, to the occupants of Throckmorton's almshouses (where are these now ?), and the Trinity almshouses, he bequeaths 6s. 8d. yearly on the day of his burial ; also to be distributed among the poor as a funeral dole no less than £30 (more than equal to £300 of the present money), "and at my month's mynde £20, and at my yere's mind £20." He left £7 to his "occupation" (*i.e.* the Clothiers' Company), of which 40s. to be spent at his funeral and the rest to be bestowed upon the hall belonging to the occupation. The highways at Martin Hussingtree had £10 assigned to them. (These bequests for the repair of highways were benefactions of no trifling kind in those days of unfathomable mud and ruts.) Mr. Yowle leaves his little gilt cup to Rowland Eton ; and his more public benefactions included the gift of "all the stones of Gye's Hall, within the late Grey Friars, to the maintenance of the walls of the cittie, and such other necessarie thinges as appertain and belonge to the said cittie, uppon condition that my heyres, executors, and assigns, may quietly enjoye all the stone walls about my pastures, orchards, and gardens, in the late Grey Friars." And likewise he devoted £100 "towards the foundation of a free school within the citte, to be laide oute on lands for the maintaynance of ye schoole for ever, and besides a statute of £12 by yere which they have already in execution. And I wille that the maister and skollers of ye same schoole shall come yearly upon the day of my byriall to the place where my corpse shall lye, and there uppon thyer knees to praye for my father's soule, my mother's sole, for my soule, my wieff and children's soulles, and for all Chrysten sowles, besydes thyer dayly prayer for us

morning and evening in the schoole." [This part of Mr. Yowle's public bequests, excepting of course the praying for his soul, has met with better fate than some others, the properties purchased with his money having always been in the possession of the Six Masters, and the proceeds from them appropriated to the almshouses and free school.] Lastly, Mr. Yowle's will contains this significant clause, that if his wife or any other relative should dispute the will or go to law, "theyr portions to be taken away and divided among the rest who are quiet."

Thos. Yeat, smith, St. Peter's, leaves to his daughter Catherine all his houses and lands in New-street, "stretching from Balaam's Vine (probably the name of an inn at the bottom of the present Pump-street) to the Market-place (old Corn-market), but she is to be ruled by the counsel of her mother concerninge her marryage."

Thos. Porter, butcher, among other things, leaves "a iron barre to hang ye pott on going through ye chimney."

Richard Badlam leaves "a pucke gowne lyned with white bayse."

Randle Wylks, butcher, bequeaths to his servant, Humphrey Abell, 3s. 4d. to buy him a jerkin and 18d. for a hat. Another individual, in leaving affectionate tokens to his old servants, guards himself by adding, "If any of my servants do take or bassell (embezzle) any thinge oute of my howse he shall have nothinge."

Wm. Mason, a tanner of St. Clement's, in 1577, gives to that parish "towards the redeemyng of theyr comunion cup," 30s., and alludes to the old custom of "free bench" in this city thus: "My wife is to have my house or tenement wherein I doe now inhabit for the terme of her life," ordering also that the *glass windows, wainscots*, table boards, forms, and bedsteads, "now about or within my said howse, do remaine to be

kept there for standerds (fixtures), to be enjoyed of my executors (his wife and son) during their natural lives, and so after to remaine to my heyres from one to another for ever without removing and taking away of the same;" and this he enjoins on his executors "as they will answer at the dreadful day of judgment!"

Hugh Goslinge, the fuller of Allhallows, leaves a buckskin doublet and black hose.

Edward Clerke, clothier, of St. Alban's, gives £20 for ever, to be lent yearly to any honest young man requiring it, without interest, and then to some other next year, and so on. To his brother-in-law he leaves two yards of puke cloth, which was the quantity then used for a cloak, and to other persons his best puke "brytches," red taffeta doublet, and silk doublet; also a French crown to each of several relations, and to his "dear father one spure ryal, being xvs., to make him a ringe." [The *rial* (or Spanish *reale*) was first called *royal* money because stamped with the King's effigy. In England it was first a piece of gold, value 10s. in the reign of Henry 6th, but 15s. *temp.* Elizabeth. Rose rials were worth 30s. in the time of James 1st.]

William Porter, clothier, All Saints, 1577, in a most affectionate will, after leaving 5s. a year to his mother, expresses a wish that "she may live with the rest of her chyldren, one to comfort of the other, a greate while if yet shal please God, and afterward I praye that they all may be made inheritors of his kingdom. Item, I give and bequeathe to my brother Ralfe, of London, grocer, who hath bin special good frind to me and all myne, my graye ambling colt, now in my stable, wishing it were so good a thinge as his hart would most desire; and to my brother Ralfe's wife a fine cloth in token of a thankful mynd to her for her greate good will to me and myne. To his other brother, Thomas, a cutler of London, he gives his bay colt "now in Batnal Park."

Contrasted with this warm-hearted "act and deed," the will of Mr. John Rowlands, *alias* Steyner, clothier, reads chilly and as though his family could not have been a happy one: after leaving to his son "a nest of silver bowles with a cover double gilt; a silver salt with a cover double gilt, with a naked man upon the top with a child, and a speare in his hand; a nest of ale cupps of silver, also with a cover double gilt; a dozen silver spoons, with a lion at the end; which said plate was of my owne, before the deathe of my father-in-law, Mr. Yowle;" and likewise 20 marks a year for his son to study at Lincoln's Inn; he goes on to say that if his wife Susan or the children should be discontented or troubled the others, their legacies were to be void; and his wife was to give security to his son for all "standards" (fixtures); but nevertheless he—the son—was to "use her reverentlie *as his father's wife*." The son was to be full executor.

John Chappell, clothier, St. Andrew's, directs his body to be buried in the little chancel of his parish church, and 20s. to be given towards the repairs of the said church; "but if the parish will not suffer my bodie to be buryed there, then the xx*s.* to be given to the poore in bred." To his sister-in-law he leaves a "fagg," to make her a petticoat, and "to Roger Massye, our curate, a white fagg* to make him a coat;" also £10 to young beginners (weavers) each for two years free; £20 to the Corporation to "buy corne and sell it to the poor when they see most neede," and if they neglected to do so then the duty to be undertaken by the Dean and Chapter; and lastly, £10 "to the company of bakers for a bread donation, to begin at St. Andrew's, and then for that and the other parishes in rotation to ye world's end; and I pray you, in giving thereof, to remember the poor journeymen weavers."

John Moore, clothier, of St. Martin's, 1581, among

* This perhaps meant a remnant: we still use the term "fag-end."

his bequests mentions "two gowns of pewke, one faced with foynes and the other with silk mockadoe," "a bed in the inner chimney* parlor wher my mayden servants do comonly use to lye," branch candlesticks of brass, flower cups (pots) of pewter, a looking glass (the only one mentioned throughout the book, but glass mirrors had not then been introduced many years), a green carpet for the table boards, a candlestick of maslin, two "kerchews" and two "pinners." To his son he gives "the lease of the crane which I have of the city" (an interesting item in relation to the trading and commercial arrangements of the clothing interest of Worcester at that time.)

Thomas Patrick, of St. Andrew's parish, says: "I bequeathe most humbly, hartely, and faithfully, my pore soule, created by God, redeemed by Christ with his most pretious bloude, and ev'more strengthened with the co'fort of ye Holy Ghost—I bequeath, I say, and comaund this my soule into the merciful handes of the Almightie God, my most loving and bountiful Father, to be saved from the danger of all enemyes by my Saviour Christ, ye Holy Ghost sealinge the assurance hereof on my hart until th'end amen. Likewyse I bequeathe thys bodie of myne that came of the earthe unto ye earthe againe, beinge sure it shal ryse againe with all God's saincts, a glorified and incorruptible bodie, to rayne with Christ sowle and bodie world without end."

Ralph Bagnall, gent., wishes his bodie to be buried "in the west part of the Cathedral Church, as near to Thos. Bromley as may be," and he leaves to a friend his "great pole and limbicke." (What was this? Was he an apothecary, having a pole over his shop, and the "limbicke" intended for "alembic," a chemical apparatus used in distillation?)

* This reads as though chimneys were not even then very common.

Wm. Gibbs, brewer and clothier, leaves three yards of cloth to make a female relative a gown.

Jas. Pitchard, gent., owner of the Cardinal's Hat before mentioned, bequeaths a ring apiece to each of his overseers, one having on it death's head and the other a signet.

Edward Atkins, carpenter, of St. Nicholas, disposes of his body to be buried in that parish church "att the cominge in att the great doore."

Thomas Collye, brewer, of St. Andrew's, leaves to Richard Durant his sealing ring, to Robert Durant his "wrether ringe," to John Frynd his best bow and quiver and his "roaving arrows," and to Raphe Byllingsley his second bow and all his "prickshafts."

John Frynd, of St. Andrew's, who is evidently the individual mentioned in the last will, leaves "to Mr. Tasker, our parson, my old quiver and all my arrows," probably the same that he had received from Mr. Collye.

Wm. Holberow, walker, gives to his son a pair of shears marked with a bell, and two dozen handles.

Christopher Morehall, clothier, presents a model will, extending only to seven lines, and dividing all his property into three parts, one-third to his widow and the other two portions to his two children.

John Strickland acknowledges the kindly services of his spouse thus: "In consideration and forasmuch as my wife hath all the time during our marriage behaved herselfe very dutiful and kinde unto me, and specially during this my last sicknesse taken greate paines with me, I doe give and bequeath all my lands, tenements, houses, edifices, and hereditaments whatsoever and wheresoever withyn the realme of Inglande," &c., "unto my wife Margaret and her heirs for ever."

George Farrington, of St. Nicholas, (1605). Pinned to his will is a letter to some "Right Hon." personage, advertising him that Robert Haslock had sued the Cor-

poration of Worcester in the Court of Requests for a legacy due to him and his wife out of the said will, but that on a conference between him and some citizens he was content to relinquish the claim, throwing himself on the mercy of the Court, and desiring to have a lease of some house of theirs assigned to him, which they (the Corporation) assented to as soon as they could find a house to suit him; that in 1622 the sum of £25, being part of Sir Thomas White's gift to young men in trade, was lent to him for 10 years free, with another sum of £20, also free; that through the interest of Mr. Watts, an Alderman, he was appointed town crier, "but perceyvyng that many of ye inhabitants and many strangers have often much dislyked and spoken agaynst Haslocke for hys smal voyce unmeet for that place of servyce, the now fyrst elected Alderman for this yeare, with the greate parte of ye other Aldermen, dyd appoynt another, yet allowing Haslocke halfe the benefit of the market profyts till Christmas, which did gyve him contente."

Launcelot Clarke, *alias* Cooke, leaves to his son "our great pott which was his grandfather's and our greate caldren which was my mother's."

John Howton, brewer, 1608, bequeaths £500 to his son, requesting the Chamber (Court of Orphans) to put out the same to use till his son came of age, after the rate of £8 for the hundred!

Christopher Nend, weaver, of St. Helen's, leaves his flaxen shirt to his father, and to "my brother my beste hatt, my tawny jerkine, tawny breeches, black doublet, one bande, a paire of blewe stockynges, and a pair of *horse-flesh breeches!*"* To another brother a pair of

* In this there naturally seems something strange. However the word *par-flêche*, used by hunters and trappers in America to signify raw-hide, elucidates the matter: for by analogy, *horse-flêche*—for which in days of yore the mistaken form *flesh* might be written—would mean raw horse-hide. So that it is possible the *breeches* were some sort of overalls or leather small clothes.

green stockings and "a pair of britches with two welts down ye side;" lastly, "a greate brass panne to the childe which my wife goeth with."

Thomas Bonner, who calls himself "gent.," but who appears to have been a shopkeeper, in the year 1607 left his body to be buried in the church of Allhallowes (All Saints), "nere the seate or pewe wher I doe usuallye sitte or knelle downe in the tyme of devine service." His house he assigns to his executors for six years towards the discharge of his legacies, and then the said house, "with the wainscott newe placed therein, the glase* in ye windowes, the bords, frames, formes, bedstids, lin'y tables, cobards, presses, chests, with ye shope and warehouse adjoininge to ye saide house, with the presses, boxes, shilves, spice, mortars, pestills, waights, scalles, painted clothes, together with the garden, backesid, corts, yeards, and appurteynances to my cousin." He gave £40 for four young men, for three years, free, the young men to be of the companies of clothiers and mercers. Bread was left to the poor of every parish in the city, and £20 for "hiring and maintaining of a preacher or lecturer within the cittie of Worcester, and towards buyinge and mayntenance of a fayre Byble, to be sette uppon some fayre deske, and so to remayne within the parish churche of Allhallowes for ever."† He leaves to his brother-in-law Freeman his furred gown, "and I doe forgive him all such sum or summes of money as he shall be indetted unto me for my shope book or otherwise." A silver bowl to one friend, a morning gown to another, a morning cloak to a third, a silver can of double gilt to a fourth, and to his

* I have elsewhere stated that glass and wainscots were movable, and not considered as part and parcel of a house. Among the Harleian MSS. is one entitled "The Custom of Chester, for takeinge away glass and wainscote by the tennants which sett them upp."

† This Bible was recently rebound in its old covers at the expense of Mr. Haywood, churchwarden, and is now in the possession of the rector, Rev. B. Arthure.

cousins a silver bowle "rought about," a sugar boxe of silver, some gilt goblets, and "my brasellnutt." (Was this a cocoa-nut shell, mounted, for drinking purposes?)

John Beane, of St. Andrew's, walker and clothier, left to his two brothers his cloth barge and a little boat, and to A. Hooper "my old barge under the wall."

Wm. Yenard, clothier, of St. Peter's, 1609, bequeaths 40 marks to his son William "yt he may be brought upp to scoole and to be taught to wright and to reade, and his duetie fyrst to serve God and then to man;" also the use of 40 marks "to helpe to mayntein hym while he goeth to scoole and when he goeth to be aprentice, which I desyre he may be put to at xv or xvi yeres of adge, and that then xx pound of the first xl merks be put forth to the best use to the increase of hys stock; and the other xx nobles, remaynder of the xl merks, to be lent to hys master with whom he shal be aprentice for the space of seven yeres, being a man sufficient to be putt in securitie for the repaying of the same xx nobles back at the end of his seven yeres service." If the master should not use the boy well the 20 nobles to be returned, and when the boy arrrived at the age of 22 the whole was to be handed to him. To his father Mr. Yenard bequeaths the comforting legacy of "my newe paire of wynter shewes."

Thomas Howton, brewer, 1609, gives £3 towards enlarging St. Martin's Church, and among other articles he leaves "a knob gold rynge" to a female friend; his "bigger and lesser gilt bowls," silver goblet, and silver beker, to other parties; and to his servant Margaret his late wife's best gown, best hat, two partelets, two "charchefs" (kerchiefs), and three flaxen aprons.

John Plather, *alias* Pilador, *alias* Plador (it being then fashionable in all ranks to spell names with the greatest possible variations), was a baker of St. Nicholas' parish in 1610, and observes in his will:—"Knowinge that all mortall fleshe must die, the tyme of deathe not

knowne, but most uncertaine to all creatures, and now *beinge visited by Almightie God*, and yeat of good and p'fecte healthe and memory, thanks be unto God," proceeds to bequeathe £3 "to the company of the occupation of bakers, towardes makyng a pall for the company's use, and xiijs. ivd. to make merry withal at theyre pleasures!" [The words in italic seem to indicate that the testator was expecting an attack of plague, pestilence, or some other of the many epidemics which abounded in those times, and this is borne out by the terms of the will following, which was made in the same year, though I have failed to discover in any other records any allusion to the year 1610 as being particularly marked with such a visitation—but there was a visitation of plague in Worcester in 1611].

Thos. Turner, weaver, of St. Martin's (Aug. 14, 1610), gives to his journeyman, John Cheshire, his best shirt, band, and stockings, and his greatest caldron and frying-pan to his sister-in-law; "and forasmuch (says he) as at this tyme the Lord hath layd His hande upon mee, and by His greate vysitacyon hath taken one of my chyldren out of thys myserable lyfe, and every day both I myselfe and all the reste of my people do expecte the lyke vysitacyon from the Lord, unto whom wee doe all of us refer ourselves whether it be to lyfe or deathe, as it shall be most agreeable to His dyvine will," &c.

John Wild, clothier, 1611, after dividing sheets and other linen which had descended to him from his ancestors, gives to Humphrey Nash his best flaxen shirt and band. This Nash was probably in his employ, as Mr. Wild leaves to one William Milton "three yards of medley cloth which is nowe in weavinge at Humphrey Nashe his house." [The factory system was not then invented, and the clothing trade of Worcester and of the West of England generally was conducted in this way: the farmer having sheared, washed, and dried his

wool, it was then spun in the farm-house with a distaff, brought to the market, and purchased by the clothiers, who employed people to weave it at their own homes. Looms were sometimes erected in outhouses and even in bye corners of lanes and court-yards. The cloth so produced, being undyed and undressed, was then sent to foreigners, principally the Flemings, who realised a great profit by finishing it off. In 1557 a petition was sent to the Queen's Council by the bailiffs of Worcester as to the "increase of poore people in the city, occasioned by the clothiers being unable to imploy so many, owing to the statute passed in the 5th of Edward VI., which enacted that the clothes made in Worcester called 'the long Worcesters,' containing so many yards in a piece, should be of a certaine weight, under a stated penalty, and considering that ye said cittie hath bin of long time chiefly maintained by clothe making, and that people in ye same cannot be otherwise maintained, and that if this inequalitie (alluding to the weight of cloths made in other counties) be not by means of your honours reformed speedilie, the same cittie is lycke to fall into utter ruyne, which wer great pittie, and thereby this smal countie of Worcester to be so replenyshed with beggers that wee shal not be able to relyve them," and the pith of the petition was that it prayed the Council to dispense with the penalty till Parliament met. Six or seven years afterwards an order was received by the Sheriff of Worcestershire to appoint two clothiers to appear before a Royal Commission on a day named, "to commune on manie things respecting theyr faculties." The principal clothiers were then John Stayner, Rd. Maye, Ralph Wyatt, and Rd. Sparks. The result of this "communing" is not stated; but some years later a similar clothing deputation, sent up to London from Dorsetshire, ended somewhat disastrously, the representatives spending two months' time and 100 marks of money, which they do

not seem ever to have recovered from their constituents, and besides were robbed on their return home. Three years before Mr. Wild's will was made, James I. granted to Ald. Cockayne the right to practise his invention of dying and dressing cloths, and prohibited the exportation of undyed fabrics, but the patent was annulled in 1615, and English clothiers adopted a method of dyeing the wool before weaving it. The trade however soon afterwards dwindled, and eventually it left Worcester and most other places in the West and passed over to the great factory system of the North. An explanation of names and terms may be here desirable : there were weavers, walkers, fulling-mill men, shearmen, dyers, forcers of wool, carders and sorters of wool, and spinners; carders and spullars of yarn. A "walker" meant a fuller, the fulling of cloth being performed by walking over it, as is still practised in the Isle of Sky. In addition to colours now in general use, there were others designated tawny, russett, marble grey, puke or dark grey, sadnew colour, asewer, watchett, sheep's colour, lion colour, motley or iron grey, friar's grey, crane colour, and old medley.*]

Richard Chadborne (1615), in the course of his will, says: "Whereas the six men of the parish of St. Peter's have purchased in the name of me and of John Knight, my fellow churchwarden, one house to the use of the said churche and poore of the parish aforesayd, wherein John Sneade now dwelleth, my will is and hereby I do devise the same soe far forthe as in me lyeth the said house with the appurteynances to the six men of the aforesayd parish, to be imployed according to the use for which it was purchased."

Humphrey Yardley (1618) leaves to his infant son £100, the use of which, he says, "is comonly ten pound by the yeare," to his wife during the minority of the son, "to bringe him uppe in the feare of God, in

* Roberts's "Southern Counties."

learninge and good behaviour;" also "a faire newe Bible" to another son, and to his "loving friend Thos. Jones one peece of goold of half a crowne."

Thos. Powell bequeathes £100 to the parson of All Saints, "to be putt forthe for the space of five yeres, att seaven in the hundred, to gather a stock for ever to the good of the poore of the said cittie;" 20*s.* of this to go to the poor of All Saints, and the money to be distributed yearly on the 5th of November; and at the end of the five years the profits of the £100 "to be given to my wife Johan, for her mayntenance during her natural life, and at her death the £100 to be divided among the children."

Thos. Moore (1629; he died 1633) in his will says: "Item, for the good love I beare to the cittie of Worcester, I give and bequeathe towards the makeinge of a water conduct in or near the oatmeale market betweene the ende of Baxter-strete [now the Shambles] and the nowe dwelling howse of Wm. Greenebanke, pewterer, and Henry Wright, draper, thirtie pounds, upon condition that the worke be taken in hande and perfected within two years after my decease; and if not, the Mayor and the twentie-three (*i.e.* the 24 capital citizens) to dispose of the money towards the mayntenance of a preacher to read a lecture within the said cittie once every weeke, and soe to have continuance for ever."

The last two wills of which it will be necessary to make any mention are those of Richard Engelthorpe (1618) and Thomas Walsgrove *alias* Fleete (1613.) The former gentleman filled the office of high bailiff in 1610, and was buried in the Cathedral, where there still may be seen a small gilt and coloured monument commemorative of his benevolence in founding the almshouses bearing his name. His will is fully detailed in Hebb's "Account of Public Charities." As to Mr. Walsgrove, Mr. Hebb records the benefactions of several generations of the family, and especially the

founding of almshouses in Powick-lane by John Walsgrove in 1567, but he unaccountably omits all mention of the following, although he names a John Walsgrove in 1613, which is the same year as that in which Thos. Walsgrove makes the following will :—He bequeaths to the Corporation certain messuages and lands in Fish-street and Foregate-street, on condition that within two years after his decease "they shal procure and provide some convenyent place, howsings, and romes, for the bringinge upp of poore children within the cittie in a laborious course of life, from begging and idlenesse, and alsoe for settinge of idle persons in work who being liable to work for want of care and provision had for theyr reformation and relief live most idlie to the dishonour of God and to the disgrace of this cittie, to set on worke and to bring upp in labour such pore children and idle persons as aforesaid; and also that they p'cure and apoynt a mayster or governor to oversee and correct such children and persons as shalbe ther set to worke; and to suche an overseer, master, or governor, for his paynes to be taken therein I doe give and apoynt three pound yerely to be payd out of the said rents and profits, and yerely iij*s.* iv*d.* to a clarke to be apoynted to receyve the rents and keepe the accounts." All this to be done in two years, or else his heirs to enter on the property. [This is the very first effort probably ever made in Worcester for the establishment of an "industrial home," barring the measures taken under the Act of Elizabeth for setting the poor at work; but there is no record as to what became of it. In another of the Corporation books I have found a record that Hugh Atwill, parson of St. Tewe, Cornwall, left £3. 6s. 8d., the interest of which was to be employed in keeping the poor of the city of Worcester at work. Mr. Walsgrove goes on to say :] "And whereas the Corporation of Six Masters hold by lease of the greate Corporation divers messuages and lands lyeing within

the said cittie, the benefit whereof is employed in many good and godly uses, now if it shal plese the Chamber and Council of the cittie to renewe their grante of the premises for 41 yeres in possession at the now rente reserved for continuance of so good and charitable a work, to be granted within one next yeer after my decease, in recompense and in lieue whereof I doe give to the Corporation for the feine thereof the sum of ten poundes, levying it to theyr wise and godly consideration."

We must just stay to peep into an executor's account of "charges layed forthe concernynge ye last will and testament of Rd. Badland," at whose funeral were consumed "whyght fysshe" at a cost of 19d.; "yeeles," 2s.; saltfish, stockfish, and "saman" 6s. (it was probably Lent); "ale fatched in at d'verse places," 6s.; "to the p'son of Saynct Clemens for his paynes and for tythes behynd," 3s.; distributed to the poor in money, £3. 6s. 8d.; "Dr. Lews for ye sermon," 10s.; the clerks of St. Clement's, Allhallows, and St. Helen's, received respectively 8d., 10d., and 20d.; the shoemakers' company had for the use of their hall 4d.; "shewis for Raphael and John and a payer of hosen for Ursula" (this and "Perren" were favourite names for girls at that time) are also presented in the account, and Roger Tovey has 12d. "for praysing the plate."

The last date in the book is 1656, previous to which there had been great gaps and irregularities, owing probably to the civil commotions between King and Parliament, and so we lose all further trace of the "Worcester Court of Willes and Orphans." Before taking leave of the books however, I must briefly describe the sheet almanack of 1561 appended to one of them, and which Mr. Woof has very properly preserved in a frame.

A SHEET ALMANACK OF 1561

is entitled at the head "An Almanack and Prognastication for the Yere of our Lord God MDLXI." It is some 15in. square, and has a column for every month; at the head of each month is a woodcut, containing in the left-hand corner of the top part of each the sign of the zodiac; the cut itself is devoted to some scene suggestive of the month or season—in January there is feasting going on; February, a man is bringing in billets of wood to a great fire, at which another person is warming his hands; a dog is seated by the side, and a pot is on the fire; March, some operation in the field; April, a bacchanalian scene, or two ladies hocussing a prostrate gentleman, suggestive of Lot and his two daughters; May, a scene in the country, a gentleman on horseback, with a lady on a pillion behind him, and a man on foot in the road, approaching an inn; June, leading cattle to water; July and August, mowing and reaping, with one ingenious youth tapping a wooden bottle; September, brewing or wine making, with a man treading grapes (?) in a large tub; October, ploughing, apparently on the G. O. principle, and sowing; November, two men (not babes) in the wood, but their occupation a matter of great uncertainty; December, killing an ox by cutting its throat, a woman catching the blood in a dish. All the principal fasts and festivals are given, with their octaves, saints' days, 12th day, law terms, moon's quarters, &c. But the principal feature is the cool and business-like manner in which the weather is foretold, and not only that but every change of wind, with the greatest nicety and distinctness. For the 4th of August, for instance, it is announced that there would be "vehement blasts of wind with some miseling weather at night." An exceedingly small modicum of fine weather was anticipated throughout the year; and it would seem that in this respect—

if the almanack was an indicator of the average state of the seasons—Queen Elizabeth was by no means so fortunate as her descendant Victoria.

Having disposed of the subject of wills and orphans, I proceed to pick the "plums" from the other records examined among our Corporation archives, which included the following: The books of rents, &c., of the suppressed Black and Grey Friaries, commencing with 1540, the year of the suppression; city account books of all officers; toll book, soldier musters, and miscellaneous, 1552; sessions and "law day" order books, commencing 1569; liber recordum, 1575; bye-law book, 1578; views of frank pledge, Chamber order book, 1653; Papists' estate books, the company of joiners and carpenters' guild books, 1692, &c. The first subject will be—

THE BLACK AND GREY FRIARS.

Very little is known of the Black and Grey Friars of Worcester. If these fraternities kept any books or records they were probably destroyed by the brethren themselves; or the Corporation of the city, when the suppressed houses were handed over to them in 1540, thought such writings were useless and committed them to the flames. To hope that they may yet "turn up" in some half-forgotten chest or antiquary's closet would perhaps be to expect too much. We must therefore be content with the scanty materials at our command, and with furnishing a few more notes for histories which may hereafter be written.

The Grey Friars were founded by St. Francis of Assisi, in Italy, in 1182, and confirmed by Innocent III. in 1207. The saint was an anchorite, who supposed that Christian perfection consisted mainly in possessing nothing; he therefore sorely punished himself with austerities, went barefoot, girt with a knotty cord, and professed the greatest example of humility. He called

those "Minors" whom he chose from the first to be his companions; they were also termed Franciscans. Generally they dwelt by sevens or tens in a convent. The order first appeared in England about 1224, but how well the regular monks of this country liked the importation may be gathered from the words used by one of them: "Oh dolor! O plus quam dolor! O pestis truculenta! Fratres minores venerunt in Angliam!" And Mathew of Westminster says of them that "they were diligent instruments of the Pope in all his affairs, sometimes as messengers or legates, and always sedulous for his advantage. Neither were they slack in preaching, signing with the cross, and assisting the sick in making their wills; which employments did not a little hinder the monks both in point of profit and power." They had seven districts in England, each of which was governed by a provincial. Worcester was said to have been the head of one of these districts, having the care or oversight of the friaries of Shrewsbury, Bridgnorth, Lichfield, Coventry, Stafford, Chester, Preston, and Lancaster. No charter of foundation or grant of the site of the Worcester house is known to be in existence, which is accounted for by the supposition that they were not endowed with houses and lands, but lived wholly on the charity of others, and that the structure of their house and church was at the cost of pious people. From a MS. in the British Museum, however, it appears that these friars were not too proud to accept of donations of land; thus: "To Frere Thos. Jonys of the Freres Minours of Worcester, the meadow called Digley (now Diglis) lieing under the castell there, duringe the King's (Richard III.) pleasure, withouten anythinge therefore yieldinge." The arms of various other benefactors were also emblazoned in the windows of their hall. According to Leland, their house was of the foundation of William de Beauchamp first Earl of Warwick, and was erected a few years after the appear-

ance of the order in England. The Grey Friars' house was generally on the site of the late city gaol, and extended (as Green informs us) from Friar-street eastward to the town walls, and the wall of the Blockhouse to the south; the church stood without the walls at the bottom of St. Laurence-lane—a name which afterwards gave place to Friar's-gate, leading to the Blockhouse fields. The extreme jealousy existing between the friars and monks

is illustrated by one circumstance, that in 1298 William de Beauchamp was prevailed upon by a friar minor, who drew up his will, to order his interment, not in the Cathedral, where his ancestors lay, but in the choir of their friary. In that will he bequeathed to them two great horses which at his funeral should carry his armour, and left £200 for solemnizing his interment. The friars then, as though to mortify the monks of the Cathedral, made a procession in triumph, carrying the Earl's body through the streets and lanes of the city,

and then deposited it in ground wherein during the winter season (saith the monkish chronicler) it may rather be said to be drowned than interred—"in a spot where I have seen foul kitchen herbs grown." As if to make the abasement greater, this resting place of several of the Beauchamps was after the suppression turned into a skinner's yard. The above-named Earl left to a priest to sing mass daily in his chapel attached to the friary, and which stood without the city wall in the Block-house, certain rents in Wich and Winchester, for the repose of his soul, his wife's and all Christian souls; also 40s. to the same friars, and smaller sums to the hospitals and nuns of Worcester and every anchorite in or near the city. Before this time the Friars Minors had quarrelled with the Cathedral monks about the interment of one Poche, a citizen, whose body, although he had willed it to be buried with the friars, was secured soon after his death by the sacrist of the monastery and buried in the Cathedral cemetery; but complaint being made to the Archbishop, who happened to belong to the order of friars, a command was sent down that Poche's body should be given up, under pain of excommunication. This was done, and the friars escorted the body with triumphant songs through High-street. This order of friars was not dissolved at the outset of the Reformation, as but little was to be got by their suppression, but they were wise enough to surrender in the 30th or 31st year of Henry, and their house and possessions were granted to "the bailiffs and citizens of Worcester," who paid a yearly rent to the Crown for the same. The greater part of their establishment, it seems, was in existence down to the present century, and Green says it presented "the most entire remains of any ancient religious house in the city, not a room having been changed." In our own day however the whole has disappeared; one form of austerity gave way to another, and an establishment was erected there in

which justice was dispensed instead of religion; and now again the gaol has given way to the almshouse, and charity succeeded the sternness of justice.

The Black Friars, Friars Preachers, or Dominicans, were founded by Dominick, a Spaniard, in the time of Innocent III. He instituted a new rule of strict and holy living, and, lest his followers should grow sluggish by staying at home, he, in imitation of our Saviour, appointed them to travel far and wide to preach the Gospel. Their habit was a black cloak and hood over a white cassock. They came to England in 1221, but it is not known when any of the order settled in Worcester. In the 21st of Edw. III. (1348) an establishment of the foundation of the Beauchamps of Warwick was made in Broad-street, within the city walls, at a spot called Belasses. This establishment extended from the back of Broad-street to the north wall of the city near the Butts, or ancient archery ground, now the Cattle-market, and to Angel-lane (now Little Angel-street) on the east. The Old Sheep-market at the bottom of Angel-street was an orchard or field belonging to the fraternity, and subsequently became a burying-ground, then a sheep-market, and now a receptacle for carts on market and fair days. So passeth the glory of all things! In 1370 a legacy of £20—a great sum for those days—was left them by Catherine, daughter of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, and wife of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. Among the city records is a grant from the Corporation to the Prior of the Friars Preachers (dated 1405) of a parcel of the stone wall and land of the city, "which said parcel extends itself from a dovehouse tower to them granted by the space of 100 feet in length direct towards the west." A new chapel was ordered to be built on the north side of the choir of their friary for the burial of Sir J. Beauchamp in 1475, who had directed his body to be buried there. Among other bequests he gave these

friars a new organ; and his widow, after leaving her body to be buried near her husband's, ordered that a tablet of alabaster should be made representing the birth of our Lord and the three Kings of Coleyn—the wise men of the East—to be set in the wall over her body, also an alabaster image of St. John with a chalice in his hand. In the Corporation records is a copy of an indenture, dated Sep. 20th, 1529, in which "Sir"* Richard Knight, "prior of the house of the Frier Prechors of the cittie of Worcester, with the assent and consent of the brethren, set, let, and devise to Benice Mosslege and Alice his wife all that garden of theirs situate and lying in Hilton-street, in the suburbes of the said cittie, betwixt the garden of the Fryer Mynors on the south side and the garden of John Wylington on the north side, stretching from Hilton-street aforesaid at the west unto the streame of Severne at ye este, for the term of sixty yeres, at the yerely rent of iis. viij*d*." The seal of the worshipful master, Doctor Hodgekins, "provincial of ye said religion," as also the convent seal and the lessee's, were affixed to the document in their chapter-house. This house was suppressed at the same time as that of the Grey Friars, but, being mendicants, the friars had no pensions allowed them during life, as the monks and canons had. Both establishments thus fell into the hands of the Corporation of Worcester (by grant 31 Henry VIII., still existing among the city records), and we are now to ascertain what they did with them.

One of the Corporation books above alluded to commences thus:—"The rentes, revenues, and sales of both ffreres houses of the cittie of Worcester, late purchased by Thos. Bolinghop and Roger Warde of the Kinge ower Soverayne Lorde to the use of the cittizens of the same cittie in anno r. r. Henrici, Dei gra. Octavii, Anglie et Ffranc. Regis, fide defensr. dn. Hibn. et in

* A title at that time given to the clergy generally.

terra Anglicane Ecclesie capitis sup'm tricesimo primo" (1540.) Under the head of "rents per annum," pastures, gardens, stables, orchards, meadows, a churchyard, &c., are enumerated, the whole rental of both suppressed houses being £13. 10s. 4d. Then follow "Dy'vs somes (divers sums) of money received by the saide Thomas Bolinghop and Roger Warde towards the purchaseinge of ye same landes." All the parishes of the city, the chamberlains of the Corporation, and the masters of the Trinity guild, contributed their respective proportions, the total amount being £178. 5s. 2d. Among the "sales made this yere of the graye ffreres' house to dyv's p'sons" were the following: Tyles, stuff, bricks, iron, stones, old timber, trees, tree butts, an iron grate, planks, "doges" (fire-dogs), "roffes," &c. The chapter-house was sold to Thomas Evett for £10, and another house for 48s. 4d. Thos. Haywode bought the steeple for 10s., and the parson of Allhallows (All Saints) gave £3 for the "church ruffe;" four glass windows fetched 4s., the sanctus bell 15s., 1 cwt. of lead, 5s.; boards, pavement, glass, lead, &c. Thus it appears that the church, chapter-house, and other buildings, were sold, and probably taken down, but the refectory and such of the other rooms as were convertible to secular purposes were left standing, even till our own times. The "sum of gray ffreres' stuffe solde" in the first year after the suppression amounted to £119. 15s. 5d. In the accounts of the sales at the Black Friars it appears that the wardens of St. Swithin's bought 3s. 8d. worth of glass, and the vicar of St. Peter's 4s. worth, no doubt to insert in their own churches. John Welles and others also purchased glass windows (the use of glass being even at that time by no means common.) There is a curious item: "For a leese of a wyndoo, 1d." (Were windows let out to hire?) The church roof fetched £4. 15s. 1d.; beams, planks, doors, and brass, were disposed of; and one

house went for £4 and 23d. The quere (choir) roofe was bought by Wm. Doding for £3. 9s. 9d.; and even the gravestones (!) were converted into money, one Ledington giving 8s. 2d. for them. Mr. Grymes gave £23. 15s. for the two great bells; and the sanctus bell fetched 15s. Many "doges" are named (query fire-dogs?), and great quantities of stone and lead; the total of the Black Friars' sale for the first year being £120. 7s. 2d.; total of both establishments, £230. 2s. 7d. In the next year another sale of stuff, including "loodes of pepulls" (pebbles?) a wall, &c., takes place, to the extent of £58. 15s. 6d.

Roger Warde, who styles himself "the surveyour of both subpressed ffreres houses in Worcester," next specifies the following particulars :—

"Imp'mis, for the iij (third?) payment to the Kinge our Sovrayne Lorde for the seide houses, cxxxiij*li.* vis. viij*d.*

"For owre acquittances uppon ye same payment, vs.

"For my costes ryding up and downe to London, xiij dayes, xxvi*s.*

"Payd dyv's laborers for plucking downe of the bothe ffreres houses, xxij*s.*

"Payd to the King for ye tenthe of owre landes, xxvi*s.* viij*d.*

"For my costes and aquittances at Ledbury, vs."

Among the "detts owinge of olde" the parsons of St. Martin's and Allhallows were put down respectively for 2s. and 3s., probably for stuff they had purchased and not paid for.

In the 34th year of King Henry, after the receipts of rents, &c., occur the entries :—

"Then paide to the Kinge for the last payment and our acquittance, cxxxiij*li.* xi*s.* viij*d.*

"For the loone (loan) money in London towards the three payments, xv*li.*"

In this year "a wall in the body of the gray ffreres' church" was sold to Thos. Solley for 40s., and Wm. Doding paid 2s. rent "for the bodie of the churche at

ye Black Friars." (Doding had bought the choir roof.) In the 35th year of King Henry, among the stuff accounted for as sold were walls, windows, and buttresses (it does not say at which of the friaries), and then occur the following entries :—

"Thomas Carter for the one cloyster, xiij*s.* iv*d.*

"Thomas à Flete for Guye's Hall, xxiv*li.*

"Payd for makeinge of a new gate at the old Graye Friars, for lockes, hynges, bourdes, and neyles to the same, and for other payments, xlis. iv*d.*

"Payd Mr. Porter for a rent goinge out of the old chapter-house, xx*d.*

"Payd to the chamberlaynes for the towne walls, vi*d.*"

In the following year more sales took place, "the parson of Trinity" buying houses, walls, and stones; also—

"Payd the chamberlayns for the tower upon the towne walle, vi*d.*

"The tenthe parte of bothe ffreres lande paide every yere xxvi*s.* viij*d*

"Payd to Mr. Duke's office in the Courte of Augmentacons for enrollinge of our acquittances in full dyscharge of our laste payments for both ffrers howses, and for enrolling and cancellinge of the bookes there, xxx*s.*

"Payd certain workmen for makinge of a new brydge at the late Gray Fryers, v*s.*

"My clarke's wages for gatheringe of my hole yeres rent, v*s.*"

These accounts of the friaries continue down to 1546, when probably all their remains were disposed of, and then they merge into the general accounts of the officers of the Corporation, only an occasional entry relative to them being met with; thus in 1577 Mr. Steyner was said to have rented the Friars' Orchard (qy. the old Sheep-market?) for 5s. In 1578 "for the Blackfriars' churchyard, v*s.*," and Thomas Doding "for the church of Blackfriars, ij*s.*" Mr. Youle, "for the church (site?) and orchard of Grey Fryars, xiij*s.*"

TRADING RESTRICTIONS.

It is perfectly bewildering, in these days of comparative freedom of thought, word, and deed, to imagine how our poor forefathers could have jogged on at all, hemmed in as they were on all sides by restrictions of the most absurd and tyrannical kind. There was one groove cut out for every man, and he generally found it impossible to move in any other. Prices of the necessaries of life were fixed by assize, the natural effect of the law of demand and supply being unknown or unheeded. No one could trade in a town without being heavily taxed for the freedom, nor could any artizan bestow his labour in the best market. Malthusian regulations were made for restraining the population from marriage, and such jealousy evinced against the influx of poor people that cottages were not allowed to be built except under very special circumstances, while lodgers and "incomers" were so narrowly watched that they were nowhere admitted without the opinion of the constables and churchwardens of the parish first being set down in writing that there was no danger of the said lodgers burdening the town. Wages were fixed without reference to the differential value of workmen in any trade, the state of the labour market, or the ability of the master. Every craftsman and artificer was so completely overhauled, "cabin'd, cribb'd, confined," that frequently he must have been in as dead a lock as the longest line of carriages ever jammed in at Temple Bar. The brewer dare not sell one drop of his liquor till "some sadde and discreete" personage from the Corporation had tasted it, and given his approval. Smithy had the length of his horse-shoe nails prescribed to him, and even the poor cobbler was admonished as to what leather he should use. The Corporation knew how many weeks every skin in the

city was in the process of tanning, and in fact that august body poked its nose into everybody's business from January to December, both inclusive. All things whatsoever that a man could do or say, eat or drink, use or wear, had been prescribed, measured, weighed, chalked out, cut and dried, labelled, taxed, and enforced, till the big baby, becoming too strong for the swaddling clothes, straps, and bands, by which he had been confined, one by one broke them asunder, became rapidly developed into manhood, and attained his majority when the Municipal Act was passed into a law.

Butchers were in the "good old times" an especial object of jealousy to the authorities. Their habitats were, in the time of Elizabeth, at the Grass Cross (from Goose or Goosethrottle-lane to St. Nicholas' Church, and from the Guildhall to St. Helen's Church), and it would seem that they were much in the habit of encroaching on the highway, selling flesh in Lent and other unseasonable times, killing their pigs in the open street, making offensive blood-pits near St. Clement's gate, and sundry other amusements of theirs which called down special bye-laws on their devoted heads, compelling them to make their stalls and boards close to their shops, "after the use and ordre in London;" to sell hides only at "Allhallow Well," &c. In 1578 it was ordered—

"That no bocher within the liberties of this cittie shal from henceforth blowe, beate, carve, or drease with flowers, anie of theyr fleashe by them killed to be solde, and alsoe that they nor anie of them shal parte, selle, chop, or change, anie of theyr ware by them killed to be sold except hit be a beast of the price of xl*s*. or upwards, upon paine of xx*s*."

(In 1596.): "Item, of Henry Clarke, haberdasher, for sufferinge the bootcher to sell fleshe before his shop, vi*s*. viij*d*. Item, for John Bedle, weaver, for sufferinge of botchers to sell fleshe upon his soyle, contrarie to the Chamber Act, vi*s*. viij*d*." (In 1597): "Of those dwellers about the Cross, for suffringe butchers to sett out standings before theyr dores in the city's

soile, *vis.* viij*d.* each paid by Edward Sowley, Henry Clarke, Wm. Parker, John Bedell, and Henry Columbyne."

These were probably tradesmen at the Cross, who allowed the butchers to have standings before their houses, thus forming encroachments, or, as it was then called, "purprestures." Butchers were also obnoxious for their gambling and other propensities, and in 1577 "Mr. Bayliff" was requested to "punish all boochers and others yt. use rifelings (qy. raffling?) or any other unlawful games." Also "any boocher or other person keeping any mastiffe going abroad unmuzzled" to forfeit 6s. 8d.

It is well known how Queen Elizabeth encouraged the eating of fish, on the ground that our fisheries were a nursery for the navy. The eating of flesh in Lent could therefore only be permitted by special license. Her Majesty's proclamation against eating flesh in Lent required that bonds should be taken of the butchers not to kill meat during the prohibited period; "and if persons are sicke or weake, other flesh meates not usuallie sold by butchers may seeme meter, and soe may be for them dressed in theyr owne howses, without thereby giving occasion of killing of beefes, muttons, veales, or such like." In 1584 there were three butchers at the Grass Cross—Thos. Barker, Richard Sherman, and John Jucks, who paid 6s. 8d. each for their shops. Trade however was apparently but very indifferent with them, as year after year they were "respited" from more or less rent. One of the successors of the above-named was Thos. Till, probably an ancestor of our present fellow citizen of that name. Three shops close to St. Nicholas' Church let for 4s. per annum each, but even at that moderate rental the occupiers could not thrive, and one of them got it reduced to 3s. For some time it was sought to remove the nuisance of the butchers and their evil doings from so prominent a place as the Grass Cross, and this was

effected in the year 1660 (the ironmongers having some 20 years before been removed from the Cross to near St. Helen's Church). Baxter, or Bakester, or Bakers'-street, was the locality assigned to the butchers. It is now called the Shambles, though its old name was used in deeds down to the present century. The entry of this exodus of the butchers is as follows :—

"Mem. That in the two and fortieth yere of her Majesties rayne there was erected in the Bakster-strete at the costs and charges of the cittie new shambles for the countrie bochers to sell theyr mete att, whereas before that tyme they did stand at ye Grass Crosse and there did sell theyr meate; the yerely profitt and benefitt of which shambles doth wholly come unto the cittie. And this was done in the time of Geo. Stinton and Wm. Kinges, gents, bailiffs, Christofer Deighton and Rd. Durant, aldermen of the said cittie, Mr. Rd. Hursse and John Wigfall, chamberlains."

The cabbage market was soon afterwards held in Baxter-street (Shambles), and it should be borne in mind that in those days every trade and occupation had a special street or locality assigned to it, so that if a poor man wanted only potatoes and salt he might have to travel from one end of the city to the other to combine the two.

In the time of Philip and Mary it was ordained that—

"The market place for cowpar's (cooper's) and all other ware made and wrought of woode shal be from henceforth kept and used at the yend of Saynct Swoghton's (Swithin's) churche, and so up by ye pales into ye baxter streate, so that they shal not hinder or lett the markett, on paine of xx*s*."

Country butchers were permitted to sell only up to a certain hour, and the severest rules were laid down against selling meat, tallow, hides, or even a city dung-heap, to "foreigners" (*i. e.*, non-residents in the city) until the inhabitants had been served. No chandler was allowed to sell more than 12lbs. of candles to any "foreigner" in one week, or to melt tallow near any

"fore street;" no baker was to make "spiced bread or short cakes," inasmuch as it "enhanced the price of butter!" Fish was to be sold only at "the King's boards in Fish-street," and that at certain hours, after a portly alderman or two had gone round and applied their nasal organs to the piscatory supply. Smiths were compelled by the 1st and 2nd Philip and Mary to shoe horses with shoes and nails of forest iron alone; and to prove how overwhelming was the machinery sometimes employed to regulate the most trifling affairs of social life, in the Liber Recordum, 1575-6, is a proclamation by the Queen touching a Worcester blacksmith, thus :—

"By the Queen.—Right well beloved, we grete you well, and woll and comaund you to staye and noe further proceede in the suyte by you, Richard Porter, brought against Richard Bullock, before the bailiffs of our cittie of Worcester, for exercising the occupation or mysterie of a blacksmith for the space of one year nexte before the fyrst of May last past, not having been apprentice to the said occupation according to the tenour of the statutes in that case made and provyded, until the same matter be first harde and examined by our Council in our Marches of Wales; and for that entente, you, the said Richard Porter, do come and appear before our said Council ye fowrth daye of November next, to answer on that p'tie (part) as shall appertayne, not failinge hereof upon payne of *cli.* Given under our signet at our town of Salopp, xxiv daye of October, in ye xvi. yere of our rayne."

Not even the obscurity of the cobblers' craft shielded that useful though humble class of men from special enactment. In 1574 a pretty considerable agitation among the members of this fraternity was settled thus :—

"Whereas divers discords, controversies, and debates, before this tyme have bin moved, stirred, and dependinge between the occupation or societie of shoomakers, corvesers, or codeners, within this cittie, on the one parte, and certaine persons usinge or occupyng the trade or practice of coblynge or clowtyng of shoes or boots, commonly called coblers, within the same cittie, on the other parte, for appeasing whereof the bailiffs,

John Rolland and Thomas Heywood, and the aldermen, called before them the steward and wardens of the said crafte, deliberating, perusing their books, and hearing both sides, it was ordered that Thos. Hill, Wm. Bird, David Gough, Wm. Usherwood, Griffith ap John, and John Parker, shal exercise the art and mystery of coblinge, and non other, uppon paine of imprisonment."

Here is a shot aimed at the knitters of hose in the year 1590 :—

"The bailiffs were requested to call the knitters of hose together, and suffer non that are of suspected behaviour, unless they shal satisfie the bailiffs of their honest behaviour, because divers of them are common locksters and resetters of yarne and will pilfer from the owners thereof to the great decaie of the inhabitants within this cittie."

The restrictions on fishermen will be read with interest at a time when it is hoped that the persevering efforts of our local association to improve the fisheries will result in complete success. Ordered in 1576—

"That no fisher or anie other person shall draw to take fysh of dace netts within the water of Severne from henceforth within the liberties of the cittie betwixt Allhallow-tide and lames (lammas), on forfeiture of xxs."

"Commission granted to Humphrey Mitchell as to the Severn.—The Queén our Sovrayne Ladie, by the grace of God, &c., having certain knowledge that in the streame or river of Severne, and in other rivers, streams, creks, and ditches, therinto runinge and desendinge, the spawn and broode of trowte, samons, and samonetts, and other fyshe, is yerely greatlie destroyed by inordinat and unsasiable takinge of ye same by ye comon fyshers useing and occupying unsised and unlawful netts and other engynes agaynst and contrarie to the ordinances and statutes thereof made and ordayned, to the greate hurte, losse, and prejudice of ye common welthe, for reformation whereof by her letters patente hathe apoynted her welbeloved servante, Humphrey Mitchell, Esquyre, to be water bailyffe of all her river of Severne, and of the creks, runing waters, and dyches, into the said river or water of Severn fallinge or runnynge, from ye brydge of Gloucester unto the heade of same river of Seavern, to have oversyght and correction of the same and of all defaultes done therein contrary to the tenour, form, and effect, of the same statutes; and therefore her Highnesse straitely chargeth and comaundeth that noe

maner of persons, of what state, degre, or condycon, he be of, nse ne occupy anie manner of takynge of trowte or trowte samon or samonetts within the said streame or anie parte or member thereof thereunto cominge or descendynge, from ye fyrst day of October unto ye fyrst daye of Aprill, uppon paine of forfitture at the first time xs., and at everie tyme after xxs., and punishment at the discretion of our said water bailiffe. And also her Highnesse straightlie chargeth and comaundeth that noe maner of persons brynge or cause to be brought unto ye markets no roches to be solde or geve but if two of them be worthe one peny; nor pickerell, perch, ne pollores, but if they be of the length of xiv. inches acordynge to the Quene's standard, upon paine of forfitture of ye same, and that our saide water bayliffe or his deputie make in everie markett or marketts, as well within the liberties as withoute, dewe serch for all such offenders. Dated the xxxth daie of June, in the xxth yere of owre rayne."

Soap-making at one time engaged the anxious attention of her Majesty's Council in the Marches; here is their order :—

"Whereas we are given to understand of late yeres there hath bin practysed in ye cittie of London a newe trade of makinge sope, whereof there hath bin yerely consumed in that citie above ccc thousande waite of tallow, to the great inhaunsynge of the prices of such ware and hurte of ye comon weale, which sope is affirmed to be both more unprofitable in use and more unwholesome for man's bodie, and only somewhat gaineful to the sopemakers," the Lord Mayor had therefore restrained the makinge of it in London, and it was requested that the authorities of Worcester should "see that noe sope be made excepte with oyl as heretofore."

About the year 1590, "Richard Younge, Esquier," had assigned to him the exclusive right of importing and trading in starch.

"Triers" were appointed to judge of certain goods ordered to be deposited at the Guildhall, especially leather, in order to its being tanned properly. But the instances of interference with trade and the shopkeeping interest are innumerable, and should have the effect of making our fellow citizens of the present day thank their good fortune that they were "born so late." In the time of Elizabeth, any two persons

living in one house, and carrying on separate trades, were charged to the local taxation as though they had lived in two houses. Servants and artificers' wages were fixed, penalties being imposed if they refused to work at that rate or if the employers offered more, though it is not difficult to perceive how such regulations might at any time have been evaded. *En passant* I may notice that master masons and carpenters charged only 1d. per day more for their time than for that of their workmen.

It has been elsewhere noticed that the great besetting sin of the nation in Queen Elizabeth's time, as in that of Queen Victoria, was an inordinate love of dress and finery, and how it was sought by legislative interference to limit and discourage this propensity. The most ingenious scheme for accomplishing this object is embraced in the following document:—

"Ony temporall person whos wief weareth ony gowne of silk, onie French hodd or bonet of velvet, with billyment or edge of golde, perle, or stone, or anie chayne of gould aboute hir necke or ony parte of her app'ell, or weare anie velvett in ye lynying or other parte of hir gowne, oyther than in cuffes, or purfulles, or weare anie velvitt in hir curtle or any peticote of silke, shal be charged to have continually kepe and mayntayne one geldinge hable and meate for a light horsmann, with sufficiente harness and weppons for the same. Playne French hoddes or bonets without bylyments or edges be not within ye compass of ye statute, so that you have to inquire whether ther be onie man within the cittie of Worcester and the liberties of the same whose wives do wear anie of the apparell above named, and if therbe ony such then to inquire whether the same man had in a redyness at the fifteenthe daye of August last past and soe ever sithence do continually kepe and mayntayne such horse, armnice (harness), and weppons, as is above particularly sett forthe in writinge, and thereof do make presentment unto us here at Worcester the third daye of November next cominge."

This sumptuary law was enacted in 1558, but seems not to have been put in execution in Worcester till a year or two later.

The following were the "orders for apparel for bailiffs, aldermen, and those who have before been bailiffs:" Scarlet gowns upon Christmas, New Year's day, 12th day, and certain saints' days; morrey in grain gownes on certain other days; "and to wear all such sylks, velvetts, and such furres in their gownes, cotes, and doubletts, as by the statute they may and are permitted to wear."

One of the earliest books contains a registration of all sales of cattle in the city, describing minutely the colour of each horse or cow, and the toll paid on each. This was in the time of Edward VI., and the book is headed thus :—

"Toll entered the Sonday (!) beinge ye eight daye of August Anno Reg. Edwardi Sexti quinto, according to ye tenor, forme, and effecte of ye King's Majesties letters from his Counsell of ye Marches of Walles unto ye shreve of ye countie of Worcester, directed to be p'claymed, which was done accordynglie."

In reference to this subject, the sublime and the ridiculous were probably never more conspicuously blended than in the following entry :—

"The order of the takyng of the King and Quecnes (Philip and Mary) Majesties tolle for horses, marrs, and coltes, according to the forme of the statute of late made in the second and third yeres of theyr Highnesses raynes for the time of this instant feyer of St. Palmestontyde (Palm Sunday), in such forme and order as hereafter insueth. Item: That the Tewsday nexte before the feaste of Palmesondy in the yeres of the raynes of Kinge Philippe and Quene Mary, by the grace of God Kinge and Queen of Englonde, Spayne, Fraunce, both Sycylles, Jerusalem, and Ierlande, defenders of the faythe, Archduke of Austriche, Duke of Myllyan, Burgen, and Brabande, Countes of Hapsburge, Flaundres, and Tiroles, the second and the thyrd (years of their reign), one Gryffith ap John, dwelling in the Marches of Walles, solde one geldinge, colored graye, with a bald face, and the nearer hinder foote whyte, for fyve mrks, xl*d.*, to one Anthony M'chall, of Dayworth, in the countie of Worcester, and hath payde tolle."

Porters were stationed at the gates of the city to exact certain tolls for produce brought into it, and to

apprehend all parties who brought wood which they had stolen from hedges, bridges, stiles, gates, or the props of trees. Also at Severn bridge a porter was stationed whose duty it was to claim toll of all boats and barges passing up and down. His custom was to throw a little stone into each vessel, which was a challenge for it to turn to the quay to be examined as to what was on board. If the produce was such as the citizens stood in need of, the owner was bound to sell here, without going to a further and perhaps better market. There is a copy of an order made by the Council of the Marches when at Ludlow, 15th Henry 7th, regulating the toll to be levied on boats passing Worcester bridge from Bewdley. About 1564, John Butler and Thomas Godwyne, bailiffs of Tewkesbury, memoralised the Lords of the Council, complaining that, notwithstanding by ancient custom and privilege they were to buy and sell and go to and fro to every market and fair in the kingdom without paying toll for themselves or cattle, or their boats on the river, Messrs. T. Fleete and T. Dowding, bailiffs of the city of Worcester, had lately thought fit to take toll of their boats, and at a fair on the 15th of August in the above year they had seized a heifer and detained it, being the goods of the petitioners; therefore redress was sought. No result is given in the books.

No class suffered more from the rigid regulations of the times than brewers and publicans. The former were permitted to use but one kiln each, they were to buy their wood only in certain quantities, to purchase barley in the driblets prescribed to them, and not to go on with the "tunning" of their drink till a sign had been placed at the door for the Corporation taster to step in. Beer was sold at the assize price and no other. Before the introduction of tea and coffee the manufacture of beer was a process in which society was largely interested, and great care was taken that the

beverage was "sufficiently mighty of corn and wholesome for man's body." Innkeepers, as well as their customers, were called "tipplers," being sellers of "tipple." In 1578 it was ordered in Worcester that "no inholder shal refuse to hoste and lodge any person or persons, beinge strangers and fote men, not knowen to be diseased persons, and paying for that they take, upon paine of vis. viij*d*." Innkeepers, too, were to assist in lighting the streets, being included among the principal inhabitants who then hung out lanterns at their doors, thus scarcely serving to dispel the Egyptian darkness which reigned without, until some respectable citizen, on his way home, passed by, preceded by a lad carrying a flaring link. The order on this point is curious—

"That every one of the xxiv and xlviij (the upper and lower classes of the Corporation), innholders, vittellers, and all good comens—unless ye moone shyne within yt tyme—shall hange oute a candell in a lanthorne everie night from Alhallow eve, and put light in the lanthorne at six of the clocke, and soe to burne till nine of the clocke at the least, on paine of vis. viij*d*."

Some at least of the taverns were in cellars, and great complaints were made of the open stairs which led down to them capsizing and grievously injuring the pedestrian in a dark night; indeed, very few persons ever ventured abroad in such nights, the streets being dangerous with saw-pits, heaps of filth, and ruffians. Another objection to inns was their harbouring of improper persons. John Dod and his wife were, in 1578, ordered never again to "keep any ale or vitelling house in this cittie, and that all other such evill behaviour that do take any man's wyfes, wedowes, or maydes, servants, on pain of disfranchisement and other punishment."

This brings me to the subject of lodgers, concerning which so much jealousy and apprehension were evinced. About 1554 a petition was sent to the Council of Wales

from Richard Moon, of Worcester, complaining that as he lodged many of her Majesty's subjects resorting to his house, he was in the habit of brewing three bushels weekly, but never retailed it out of his house. Nevertheless the wardens of the mystery or craft of brewers had commenced an action of debt in the town court before the bailiffs, declaring that he should forfeit 40s. to the said company of brewers; and as his lodgers were more desirous to drink beer than ale, "and forasmuch also as there is no beer brewer in the said citie" (!), he prayed their lordships to direct letters to the bailiffs to call the parties before them. The letters were accordingly sent, and subsequently the following entry occurs :—

"Before the bailiffs and aldermen, an action of debt for xls. for that plaintiff hath presumed to occupy the art and mystery of brewing within the cittie of Worcester, contrary to the acts of the gelde merchant of the said cittie, &c., that they the defendants shall surcease theyr sute, and noe further proceed in the said action of debt, and the plaintiff at noe tyme hereafter shal brew or cause to be brewed anie ale or beer without license of the wardens of the brewers, upon payne of the penaltie in the company's bookes."

Mr. Moon no doubt thought it a hard case that he was not permitted to brew for his household, but this was a part of the exclusive and tyrannizing system of the time, and the authorities cared not what hardships they inflicted so that they discouraged lodgers. When in 1572 an act was passed for a compulsory assessment for the poor, the rulers of towns perceived that unless they took stringent measures to prevent "settlements" in their own territory the new tax might prove an alarmingly heavy one. Every new comer, therefore, was obliged to produce credentials of competency, or move on to another town. Owners of houses even were not permitted to "do as they liked with their own," for in the 34th of Elizabeth an order was issued that—

"Whereas the concourse of poor people into this cittie cominge for the most parte forthe of Wales is verie greate, and daylie more and more increasinge, to the pesteringe of the said cittie and the inhabitants therein, ordered, that no cityzen let his house to anie one who has not alreadie inhabitted the cittie for three yeares."

At another time no citizen was to let his house to any stranger under 13s. 4d. without the consent of the bailiff, and the bellman and constables were ordered "to take true notice of all persons resorting to this cittie from time to time and make relation thereof to Mr. Bayliffe." Prior to the act above-named the relief of the poor seems to have been left for the most part to voluntary benevolence. In 1558 this entry occurs :—

"Copy of all the bookes of every parishe concerning the order taken by Mr. Bayliffes for the releefe of the pore people, with the names and surnames as well of all those able persons in everie parish that of theyr good wills are able to paye to the same releefe, with theyr particular somes ov'r everie mon's hede, as alsoe the names and surnames of all thempotent or pore persons in everie parish that hath the distribution of the same collection and gathering had and taken by the apoynted collectors and churchwardens of everie parish, according to the purport and effect of a certain act of Parliament of late provyded which is dewly put into execution accordingly, and hath byn order taken therein sence 16 Februarie, in 2nd and 3rd Philip and Mary."

The relative condition of the parishes of this city as to wealth and pauperism (1563) may be gathered from the following tabular return :—

Parish.	Ratepayers.	Poor.
All Saints	67	10
St. Helen's	59	4
St. Alban's	5	3
St. Clement's	13	5
St. Martin's	28	15
St. Swithin's	43	9
St. Nicholas	43	12
St. Andrew's	42	11
St. Peter's	30	13

What a state of poverty is here—82 poor persons in need of relief, and only 330 who could administer to their necessities! One in every four a pauper! and only 330 paymasters in the city! How have we progressed for the better since the time when deep poverty was the rule! What a distressing case was that of 1597 :—

"Robert Warmstrey and Chris. Dighton Bailiffs. Through unseasonable weather and two yeres of scarcity previous, corne and grayne was at an exceeding high rate, so that before harvest wheat was sold at xi*s.* and xij*s.* a bushel (this would be about £10 now), moncorn and rye viij*s.* and ix*s.*, beans and barley vij*s.* and viij*s.*; at which time of scarcity and dearness Mr. Bailiffs and their brethren carefully foreseeing provyded and bought from London of Dansk corne 700 quarters, for the provysion of the pore of ye cytie, amounting to the full charge of £1,800; by reason of which good provysion the pore bought theyr corne at a lower rate by xij*d.* or xviij*d.* a bushell." The citizens and gentlemen of the county subscribed liberally, and "besides the provision of corne Mr. Bayliffe took speciall care for the reliefe of the impotent, lame, aged, and younge children, whose parents were pore, and by theyr greate paines and dailie trouble, by the consent of their brethren, there were above cc. poore and aged persons placed for theyr dyett with men of best abilitie within the cittie, and ther was weekly collected fiftie shillings of the myddell sorte, which was weekely distributed unto pore householders wanting releefe and in necessitie, which charge continewed untill ye feaste of St. Bartlemew, 1597."

In this same year an act was passed to restrain the excessive use of malt, which empowered Justices to suppress the making of that article, in order to save the grain for food. A few years before this period I find a statement of the "Proportion of xl*li.* by the yeare to be given to the pore by the Cathedral Church of Worcester" :—

"Allowed for the prisoners after iv*s.* by the monthe lij*s.* Allowed for xx poore householders out of the cittie after x*s.* by the weeke, viz., to everie one vi*d.* weeklie, to be chosen by the minister and churchwardens of the parish of St. Michells and fower out of St. Peter's parish and ten oute of the other parishes of the cytie, xxij*li.*"

SANITARY.

Next to the unsatisfactory condition of the poor were the sanitary arrangements in the city. Swine, ducks, and dogs, prowled about the streets at their own sweet will, and when any of them accidentally gave up the ghost their dead bodies mixed a rich perfume with the dunghills piled up by the road side throughout the city. Carrion, entrails of animals, timber, and saw-pits, were also among the impedimenta everywhere offending the nose and endangering the neck. What wonder at plagues and pestilences? In the 14th year of Elizabeth it was ordered—

"That everie person that will bringe anie swyne going abroad in the streetes to the gelde hall or unto the pillorie in the corne markett shal have iij*d.* for everie such swyne."

Some 16 years later the nuisance had not been removed, for it was again ordered—

"That it be carefully seen unto that swyne have not theyr course upp and downe ye cittie, being an intollerable abuse."

The books abound with orders against miskens and ducks, filth, and all kinds of encroachments (called "purprestures") in the streets. Every person bringing dung to St. Clement's gate was ordered to lay the same between the gutter there and Little Pitcheroft, and no person was to cast dung from the bridge into Severn. One of the allowed receptacles for this was on the common ground at Severn-side beyond Frog-mill, another was at the quay, and others outside some of the city gates; there was also a pound outside St. Martin's gate. Every inhabitant of Foregate-street was to "make cleane the ditche before theyr soiles, that the water may have his course to passe oute of the same streete, as hyt hath bin heretofore used," on default of 10s. Pits in the highway leading from Frog-gate to Severn, "whereby men do comonly dryve

or lead theyr catell to water of Severn," were ordered to be filled up. Salt-lane was full of gravel pits and filth, and even the wall of the Bishop's Palace was not considered too sacred for the worst of offal. It was ordered that no sand or gravel should be dug between St. Martin's misken, near the pound, and Samson's stile; nor was any clothes to be washed at the new quay, or Bytter's-slip, where the brewers fetched their water from. Three men were paid 50s. "for theyr wages for enlarging and casting of the towne ditche for one month and one daye." Some offensive trades were carried on in the streets, and women washed their clothes there. Already exceedingly narrow, and still further shut out from the breath of Heaven by the overhanging gables of houses, our streets were the very hot-beds of disease and epidemics, and the encroachments on their restricted space were such as to seriously impede even the insignificant traffic of those days. This was submitted to, however, on condition that for each encroachment, or "purpresture," as it was termed, a fine or rent were paid. Thus, in September, 1566, we have a list of "Purpesters viewed," and these included—

"Mr. Wylde, for a bulke and a porche lyeing at Sudbury gate, next beyond the chapel there, rated by the yere at ij*d.*; a house built as p'pester in the tenure of James Wayte, rated at vij*d.*; Ricardus Walker, with a window in his bulk, ij*d.*; a chimney and windows in the tenure of John Colambyne; a taverne in the tenure of Jas. Pytchers, a forge, a ten't, a house without the Forgate in the tenure of Thos. Hewes; John Laxington, for his taverne head; Robert Colly, for a gowt goinge to Severne; Mr. Dighton for his posts; and Greg. Taylor, for his chimney."

GATES AND WALLS.

The porters at the city gates were ordered to close them at nine o'clock in the winter and ten in the summer. Thomas Bell had 3s. 4d. a year for closing a gate every night by nine o'clock and opening it by

daylight. The porter at Sidbury gate had also the responsibility of attending to Frog-gate. There were towers over all the gates, as we still see them remaining in many old towns, and apartments in the towers were occupied for various purposes. In the reign of Mary, mention is made of "the house over St. Marten's gate that the pavyer dwelleth in," and "the house that the belman dwelleth in over the pavyor's house, over St. Marten's gate," so that there were two storeys over that gate. There were also towers over Friars' gate, Frog-gate, and over the centre of the bridge : the latter let for 3s. a year in the time of Elizabeth. The tenement over St. Peter's gate let for 4d. The "tower of Foregate and the house under" were let to George Cardmaker for 13s. 4d. At the end of High-street, near the Cathedral (before College-street was projected), there were "the College grates," or a gate-way and tower across the street, and in the tower sometime lived the barber who belonged to the Cathedral body. Large sums were spent on the repairs of the towers and walls of the city, and when Mr. Yowle and Mr. Wyld represented the city in Parliament (Ed. 6th) they were requested to get an Act for a grant of lands to provide £40 a year for the reparation of Worcester walls and bridge. A curious bequest was made by Dame Joan Cooks *(temp.* Eliz.), who gave certain manors to found a school at Gloucester, and, if the conditions were not carried out, the Mayor was to forfeit £10 to the bailiffs of Worcester to go towards the reparations of the city walls. These walls were destroyed at the close of the civil wars.

THE GUILDHALL, &c.

Great attention seems to have been paid to the paving of the city about 35th and 36th Elizabeth, and seven years afterwards a new Tollsey was built :—

"Mem. that in the 43d yere of her Majesties rayne yt was agreed uppon that for the worshipp of the cittie and for the more convenyency of the sittinge and assemblie of the Magistrates and chief cittyzens in all theyr affayres, and business to be desyred, that a new tollsey should be forthwith built, for the enlargeing wherof and the beautifyinge thereof, Mr. Thomas More, one of the bayliffes of the sayd cittie, and of the company of the xxiv., gave freely of his owne accorde and good mynde unto the Corporation for ever the plott of grounde next adjoyninge unto the old tollsey, whereby the said new buildinge was greatlie enlarged. And this was concluded by common counsel of the said cittie the yere aboveseyd, in the tyme of Rd. Durant and Ed. More, gents, bayliffes of the said cittie. And afterwards, the next yere following the building and frame of the seyd new tollsey was made and erected at the onlie cost and charges of the cyttie, in the tyme of Wm. Kings and Roger Farley, bayliffes of the cyttie of Worcester."

If this entry refers to the old Guildhall, which gave way in 1721 to the present structure, the Elizabethan builders produced but a poor specimen of work, to last only 119 years. It reads curiously in the book of ordinances that if any one made holes in the walls, to have a knowledge of what was done within the hall, he was to pay certain penalties. When it is also taken into account that the citizens played tennis in the hall, and that plays were there performed before crowds of people, who must have done great damage to the building; that the gaoler lived there, and kept his prisoners in the vaults below; it need not be wondered at that the building lasted no longer. It seems that a special fund existed for furnishing the hall with glass windows, as it was a rule that when any citizen was elevated to the "24 or 48" (the Corporation) he paid the usual fee, besides 16s. 8d. "towards the glass windows." Fines for refusing to serve certain offices were also devoted to the same purpose. Glass was still considered a luxury, and an expensive one. In the 7th year of Elizabeth it was ordered "that all trees growing near the Council chamber window on the

west side shal be removed from thence before the law day."

A vignette engraving of the present Guildhall—the handsome structure which succeeded the above-named building—faces the title-page of this little work; and the author has the greater pleasure in presenting it on account of the recent narrow escape of this fine old structure from destruction, and of the active part which he took, with others, both in and out of the Council chamber, to rescue it from the ruthless hands by which it was endangered.

FIRES.

Notwithstanding the issue of many orders against timber chimneys and thatch, as being the fertile cause of fire, as early as the reign of Edward 4th, bricks did not supplant lath and plaster till the 17th century, when the great fire of London occasioned a stimulus throughout the country in the way of further improvement. There is an order on the Worcester books in 1592—

"For avoyding and eschewinge of the damage of ffier that from henceforthe everie person havinge messuages or tenements within ye precincts of this cyttie shal bild and erect in every such messuage or tenement a chimney of brycke or stone, the same to be made before the nativity of owre Lord God next ensewinge, upon payne of vl*i*. for everie defawte."

Huge fire-hooks were kept—they were useful in plucking down the timber-framed houses in case of fire—two at the Guildhall, one at Allhallows' steps, and a fourth near the Cardinal's Hat (now the Coventry Arms, Friar-street); and in 1658 the Recorder's salary (he had 40s. a-year) was diverted from that functionary's pocket to the purchase of a fire-engine. Places in each ward were appointed for keeping ladders, which were probably also used in these emergencies, and every person who removed a ladder without returning it to the proper place forfeited 3s. 4d.

GAMES.

Unlawful games in the streets were much in vogue in the time of Elizabeth, and that undue indulgence which is now granted to offenders in this line does not seem to have characterised the dealings of the Magistracy of the times we are contemplating. The following is an order on the point (17th Elizabeth) :—

"Forasmuch as in ye open strets there is of all sortes of common people withyn this cytie that do use to play at unlawful games, as bowles, stowleball, and other unlawful devises of plaies, whereby d'vse hurts do ensue, as well by breaking of men's glasse wyndows as also by other harmes and offences that happneth to d'vrs p'sons thereby, it is ordered that no person withyn the liberties of thys cytie, excepte smal chyldren under seaven yeres of age, shall play at any unlawful games in the stretes, as tenys, stowball, catt, and other such like, uppon paine of imprisonment."

COMMON HALLS.

Every inhabitant was ordered to be at the Guildhall, in gowns or other decent apparel, by eight in the morning on the Wednesday after law-day, to hear the by-laws and the alterations made in them read aloud and expounded by the Town Clerk, and proclamation of this proceeding was made throughout the city. Had a response been made by all who were invited, the Guildhall would have presented a very small area for their accommodation. To be sure, the population was then of small account as compared with the present time, it being stated in one of the books now under investigation that early in the reign of Elizabeth there were but 80 freeholders in the city.

FEASTINGS AND VISITS.

The "collective wisdom" of this city was noted throughout its earlier career for an intense love of conviviality and good cheer, which exhibited itself on every imaginable occasion. The grand feasts given by

the high bailiffs (or mayors) was an institution with which nothing was permitted to interfere, except indeed when the plague was in the city. When the Members of Parliament returned from London, his Worship and the Aldermen drank and smoked with them at the Globe, discussed the prospects of the nation, and advised with them as to their future votes. No opportunity was ever known to have been lost for venison eatings, discussing pottles of sack, wine, sugar, "beare and tobacko," not only over their business meetings, but whenever any work of repair or improvement was to be inspected in the city, also after perambulations, or when the bishop or some neighbouring nobleman sent a buck, or when news of peace or war arrived. Nay, they even ran up a score at the Green Dragon when King James went to hear mass at the chapel on that memorable morning when Mr. Mayor Shewring, representing the Protestantism of the nation, refused to accompany his Majesty. Sir John Pakington and other distinguished visitors were treated with pipes, which a commendable regard for economy induced the corporate body afterwards to burn, that they might be fit for further duty. In 1561 the city chamberlains brought in their account for "sundrie banckequets, drynkyngs, and rewardes given and bestowed on my Lord Presydent (of the Marches of Wales), the recorder, the Queen's judges, my Lord busshope, and others, in the behalfe and worshippe of this cittie, as by their boke dulie examined dothe and maye appeare, cxxxij*li.* xis. i*d.*" In the 11th year of Elizabeth occur the following entries :—

"For a banket made to my Lord Byshoppe and his wife and Mr. Baylies (the high and low bailiff), xxxix*s.* iij*d.*

"For fetching a buck from Mr. Recorder, and charges for baking the same, xviij*s.* ij*d.*

"For a dyner made at the Trinity Hall* for my Lord Bishop at his departure, vi*li.* ix*s.* ij*d.*

* Now part of Mrs. George's upholstery establishment, near St. Swithin's Church.

"Spent for wyne at Mr. Dyghton's for eating of a bucke sent by M'tris Sandes, and for the bakinge thereof, xijs. xd.
(In 1589) "Paid to the Lord Byshopp at the kylling of a bucke unto the keper and syx officers, xvis."

A detailed account of Queen Elizabeth's visit to this city has been published by Green, but one or two circumstances connected with that event have hitherto escaped all the local historians. For instance, "Edward Atkinson, yoman, purveyor of wines," was charged, preparatory to that visit, "to provide for us all maner of wynes, porters, labourers, horses, geldings, drawing oxen, carts, wayns, ships, hoyes, botes, mariners, howseroome, or cellours, and all other necessaries mete and convenyente for the same office, with caryage sufficiente for convayance by see and lande or freshe water." The costs of that very expensive visit were defrayed by an assessment on the various wards, and it seems that Robert Wyld, a wealthy clothier, disputed payment of the 20s. which fell to his share. The case was carried to the Court of the Marches—"Ed. Darnell, Town Clerk, *v.* Robert Wyld," and the issue is thus recorded :—"Order from the Council in the Marches : 20s. demanded of Robert Wyld towards the charges of the same cittie at the Queen's late beinge there, and the payment thereof denyed by defendant affirming himselfe to dwell in an exempt place out of the libertie of the said cittie. Alleged that defendant's father and himself had lived in the same house (Wyld's-lane probably), and had always paid scot and lot ; that it was situate within the perambulation of the liberties ; and that both had greatly advanced theyr substance in the said cittie by making of wollen cloths, and had served the office of bayliff. Ordered that he pay the amount and vis. viij*d.* towards plaintiff's costes." The receipt of this sum accordingly appears on the books.

The reception of great men was a point of etiquette

on which our ancient municipals spent much time and money. This was specially noticeable with the President of the Marches of Wales, who usually passed through Worcester on his way to Bewdley, Ludlow, Shrewsbury, or other towns where the Council usually sat. As the representative of royalty, this important functionary stood *nulli secundus* in the estimation of the Worcester magnates, besides which the President and Council looked for the utmost punctilio and preparation. In the 3rd year of Elizabeth an order was received here from the Council, then at Carmarthen, directing the authorities at Worcester to make provision for the Council's proposed visit to this city for six or seven days, according to a schedule sent by their steward, thus :—

"Item, to prepare the fairest house and of most easement, which requireth to have one lodging for my lord, with two several rowmes for himself, one chamber for his gromes, and one chamber for his apparel if this may be. Item, my lord lodged, three of the council to be next placed at the lest. Item, the steward and gentleman usher or harbinger, the usher of the hale, the botler, celerer, panter, ewerer, with cooks, catorer, and porter, to be lodged within the house if it be possible. Item, thirty fether bedds with all things belonginge to the same for my lord, the council, and theyre men, at the lest. Item, ten large wayne loddes good fewell wood, to be had and taken out of the Queen's Majesties woode in places most necessarie; and if there want of his Highness's wood then to make other provision as necessary as you may. Item, stables, hey, provender, and lytter, for twentie horses, or more; grass for sixty geldings and naggs for my lord and the council or more; eight large tayble cloths, fower towells, and fower cupurde cloths; six dozen napkins, thirtie candlesticks eyther pewter or latyn, as you may get them; one greate pott or cawdron to boile beef in, fower lesser potts, and fower panns greate and small; one gredyron, one fryengepan, and one chafingdyshe; one payer of racks, and fower broches; xlviij platers, xlviij dyshes, and xlviij sawcers; one bryne tubbe or vessell to powdre beef in. Item, bucketts and tubbs, with other necessarie vessells for water."

Such visits as these, it will be considered, were "no joke," but the Worcester authorities seem to have

always acquitted themselves to the satisfaction of their guests. In 1577, the rates for 14 horses, with the "furniture," to bring the officers of the Council's household from Ludlow to Worcester, are detailed in the books, and the expense divided between the wards. The "rates for the furnyture of bedds against the Queene's Majesties Counsell coming amongst ye occupations" were thus allocated: the mercers had to provide three feather beds, three stock beds or mattresses, six pairs of sheets, six pillows, six pairs of pillow beres (cases), three good coverlets, three pairs of blankets, or "throm clothes;" and the other trades were also to find their share of the bedding and other furniture. In 1578, Richard Dawks and Richard Hall, city chamberlains, sent in a bill of £5 for "beds, boards, formes, and chairs, delivered at ye pallace at Worcester during ye tyme of his (the President's) abode here, for the space of 20 weeks, at 6d. a week for each bed." On another occasion the sum of £6 "towards byeing of two fatt oxen for ye Lord Byshopp of Worcester" was divided between the trades, which are specified as follows: mercers, drapers and tailors, brewers, bakers, butchers and vintners, fishmongers, tallow chandlers, smiths and cutlers, tanners and saddlers, glovers, innholders and victuallers, and shoemakers.

The Earl of Pembroke, President of the Marches, arrived here in 1587, and was received at Sidbury gate by Robert Steyner and Raphe Bagnall, the bailiffs, with the aldermen and others, all in scarlet, and the rest of the Corporation in their livery gowns; the Earl was presented with two fat oxen, and no doubt a grand feast ensued. At his departure the President gave 40s. to be distributed to the poor in bread. In 1602, Lord Zouche, President of the Council, was received at the Foregate by the bailiffs and aldermen in their scarlet gowns and afterwards lodged at the Bishop's Palace.

Next morning the chamberlains presented his lordship with two fat oxen (which cost £13, a very high price indeed) in the name of the whole city, "which he verie thankfully received." In one of the Dineley MSS., lately printed by the Duke of Beaufort, it is stated that in 1684 the then Duke of Beaufort, President of the Council, in his progress to Wales, from Chelsea, *viâ* Chipping Norton, Worcester, and Ludlow, was nobly entertained at the Bishop's Palace in Worcester. The Mayor and Corporation attended him to the Cathedral and thence to the townhall, "accompanied with drums, trumpets, ye city waites, haut-bois, flutes, other wind music, harps Welsh and Irish, viols, violins, and other stringed instruments." His lordship was then made a freeman of Worcester, and afterwards feasted at "a greate and noble collation by the city," who—

> "Infudere epulas auro quod terra quod aër,
> Quod pelagus, *Severn*que dedit, quod luxus inani
> Ambitione furens toto quæsivit in orbe."

Cheeses, lamprey pies, capons, sugar-loaves, and wine, were the usual presents made to the Judges and other great men. In 1589 was the following:—

"For syxe cheses sent to my lord his Grace of Canterburie and for caryage of them, for preferment of Mr. Abbotts, xvi*s.* x*d.*

"Twelve cheses sent to Mr. Kerry and others, xxxvi*s.*

"For certain cheses that were sent to London and impeired in the caryage, and there sold by them, viij*s.*"

The amenities of good neighbourship were mutually reciprocated between the Corporation and the magnates living in the city and neighbourhood. Before the reformation, the Prior of Worcester would solicit the aid of the bailiffs and aldermen to keep Christmas in the most jovial of styles in the Guesten-hall; succeeding Deans and Chapters fraternised with the ruling powers in a similar way; the Bishop would invite them to the

hospitalities of Hartlebury, which, abundant as they no doubt were, never prevented these jolly old citizens from moistening themselves *en route* at Ombersley; while the Coventry family (at one time connected with the Recordership of the city) gave them many a *convivium* at Croome. Nineteenth century legislation and the altered habits of society have led the worthy corporators to depend more on other sources of gustative enjoyment.

PLAYS AND PAGEANTS.

But little information has come down to us with reference to the mysteries, moralities, and pageants of the middle ages in Worcester, or the subsequent stage plays founded upon them. That little has already been published, and from it we learn that the "crafts," or trading companies, were in the 15th century "ordained" to have five pageants in the year—three on Corpus Christi day and two on the Sunday following, "to the lawde and worship of God and for profit and encresse of the said cittie." Everybody now knows that representations of Scriptural and other subjects were in those days performed in our churches and on raised stages drawn through the streets. The religious mysteries were abolished at the reformation, but the secular plays, or moralities, survived some time longer, and formed the foundation of the modern drama. Among the Worcester orders on a "law-day" in the time of Philip and Mary is the following:—

"The whole company of the common Councell of the cytie to accompanie all processions, and the stewards of all those companies and fellowshipps shal likewyse be at the seyd processions and shal goe in decent ordre one aftur another, as herafter shalbe apoynted by the bayliff, and not uppon heapes as heretofore hath bin accustomed, upon payne of xx*s*., and all companies shal prepare theyr shows uppon Corpus Christi day as hath byn of old tyme accustomed."

The first English modern play (tragedy) was produced in 1561, and four years after that date in the Worcester accounts an allowance of 20s. is made to Henry Hybbyns "towards his greate chardges concernyng the settyng furth of a plaie in September." Travelling companies of players were licensed by the Crown, and many of them assumed the name of some nobleman as their patron. They were always admitted to play, and received their pay from the Corporations of the various towns through which they passed. In 1583 an order was made—

"That no players cominge to this cittie shal plaie at the Guildehall by night, neither in summer nor winter, nor anie plaies played in the daye tyme in the said Guildehall except such as are plaied before Mr. Bayliffes or theyr brethren."

This was to ensure due order being kept, as it appeared that during the plays there was much tippling going on in the hall, and the windows were broken. Tobacco, wine, and beer, were subsequently discussed at plays, for the audience (as also at church !) sometimes smoked in those days. Pageants, or open-air performances, were not discontinued on the introduction of plays proper.

In the first year of Elizabeth it was ordained—

"That the pageants shal be dryven and played upon Corpus Christi daye this yere accordyng to the anciente custome of the cytie, and that everie one of the comon Council of this cittie shall goe in procession uppon Corpus Christi daye in theyr lyveries accordynge to theyr cawlinge and the aunciente custome of this citte, uppon paine of forfitting iij*s.* iv*d.* for everie defawte."

In the 8th year of the same reign another order appears :—

"That the pageants shalbe plaied this year upon Trinity Sondaye thre of them and other two pageants upon ye Sondaye followinge, with as good matter and order as before tyme they have bin played, or better, at the charge of ye occupations (trades) accustomed, uppon payne as in the Act of the yeld is mencioned."

The sum of 18d. is accounted for in 1584 as having been received of the weavers for half-a-year's rent of "a tenement where ye pageants were;" and this "Pageant House," situate near the old Corn-market, was in the 17th and 18th centuries held under the Corporation by the warden of the Clothiers' Company, but there is no trace of that name attached to any house now existing that I am aware of.

In 1593 is an entry of £4 "bestowed upon ye Quene's trompeters and players," and Lord Dudley's and other noblemen's companies paid the city frequent visits. But their evil day was approaching; they fell into great disrepute for their irregularities and licentiousness, and were among the first of the abuses at which the Puritan levelled his anathema, so that when the period of the Commonwealth arrived the poor player no longer strutted his brief hour upon the stage, but was glad to enter the ranks of the royalist army or subsequently to hide in remote places till the storm was over. The restoration of Charles II. brought the players from their holes and corners, gave them new life, introduced women on the stage, and in every town either the large room of an inn or a commodious barn was fitted up for their reception. The Worcester Trinity-hall and a timber building in the King's Head Inn yard, opposite the Guildhall, were for many years applied to the purpose, till the present theatre was erected.

DOING PENANCE.

On the 7th of May, in the seventh year of Edward 6th (1553), the minister of St. Helen's Church (supposed to be Richard Hall) was compelled to do penance in his own church, for having contumaciously adhered to the exploded superstitions of the Romish Church in regard to the departed soul of a citizen. The document relating thereto is a curious one:—

"The copye of the clerk's penance of Seynte Ellynes, comaunded by the Bishop of Worcester.

"Whereas the Kinge's Majestie our Sovrayne Lord Edward ye Sixt by God's grace by all men's lawes and godlye autorytye by his most holsome and godlye ordinances hath comanded all false and papisticall doctrine and the suspicion whereof to be abolished and clearelye extincte out of this his most excellent and prosperous realme so that his Majestie intending the whole distruccion of false and papisticall doctrine of everie parte yet I my selfe partlie for lack of knowledge and partlie by threatninge of such as beare authority have not onlie usyd the belles of my parish church on Saynct Elins of Worcester superstitiously at the deathe of such as hath of late departed but alsoe with such companie as I could geat to mayntain the popish superstition entered into the church of St. Elins and made fast the doors of the same church and so superstitiouslie ronge a long time all the bells for ye soule of Mr. Thomas P'ton cittyzen of this citie of Worcester contrarie to the most hollsome godlie laws of the Kinges Majestie that comandeth not onlie superstition but also all popish remembrance thereof to be expulsed by God's true word out of this his Highness realme and my satisfaccion is onlie this to praie to God and the Kinge to forgive me with most ernest entent never to offend in the like again. God save the King."

This was no doubt the form of recantation said by the priest in his church, before the congregation, he being bare-headed, barefoot, and wearing a sheet.

A SKIRMISH AT THE FOREGATE.

That the general carrying of arms by all classes of citizens frequently led to bloodshed and the most tragical termination of quarrels is abundantly proved in the old records. Here is an instance, as seen in depositions taken before the high bailiff and high aldermen of the city of Worcester, on the 12th of March, in the 3rd year of Philip and Mary :—

"Depositions of Wm. Carter, Rd. Gough, and Thos. Mowll. Rd. Gough, being of the age of fortie two, saith that uppon Wensday being ye tenth Marche aforesaide it chaunced that he about nine of the clocke before noone was in his shopp where he dwelleth nigh to ye Foregate of the saide cytie and

then and there he saw in the lane before his shope a servant of Mr. Ashebeis standyng by certaine grehondes which were eatynge apon a dede carren horse there lyen and Mr. Ashebye hymselfe standen neare thereunto, to the which said Mr. Ashebie one Phelype Nycholas come byddynge hym take away his grehondes, to whom he answerd and said it is as lefull for my dogs to eate of a dead carren lying in this place as anie other man's doggs, whereupon the saide Phelype sware and saide by God's woundes* his doggs should not eate of that carren for it was his masters and thereupon dyd laye his hand upon his dagger, to whom then Mr. Ashbie said Draw not thy dagger here for if thou doe I will commande ye to warde lycke a brawlinge knave, for ther is more brawlinge with thee than with anie other within the cittie, and then the said Phelip said God's bloode come thou and thy man bothe and mete me in the field and I wil fight with you, to whom the sayd Mr. Ashebie said I have no quarrel to thee but if you will have to doe anythinge with mee thou mayste have mee in the feld anie daye and so the said Phillip departed and to the knoledge of the deponent he went on to Saynte Martens gate and going whom he came againe oute at the Foregate† and lepynge on a gutter ther having his sword drawen in the one hand and a bockler in the other sware sayinge God's woundes take awaie thy doggs thou whoreson villaine orels I will cutt thy fleshe, and then comyng fyersely uppon the saide servant of Mr. Ashbye dyd stryk at him with his sworde divers strokes wherbye the said servante was forced to lepe on a dyche ther being, and the sayd Mr. Ashby perceiving his sayd servant to be in greate danger did putt off his gowne and takinge a staffe forthe of the handes of Wm. Carter one of ye saide deponents came towards the said Phelipp requiringe hym to keepe ye peace, wheruppon the said Phillip cryed oute uppon his son in lawe John Fysher to stryk the said Mr. Asheby sayinge strike him downe, thou whorson villian, or by Goddes woundes I will runne through thee with my swerde, wheruppon the said John Fyssher did stryke divers strokes at Mr. Ashby and then whyles the said deponent went in to his howse to fetch a staffe to helpe to keepe the peace the saide Mr. Asheby at his comen forthe was stryken doon, and theruppon this deponent saw Thos. Manchester, Wm. Carter, Wm. Heywode, and others, holdinge and settynge handes uppon the said Phelippe and his weappons, and afterwardes all the

* A common oath in those days.

† The walls and gates were all then standing, and this affray took place near the gate-house which crossed the street at the site of the present Hop-market hotel.

saide partyes departed and quietlie went ther waie, and more can not the said deponent saie touchinge the premises."

Wm. Carter saw the said Philip draw his sword upon the bridge of Foregate* and commit the assault complained of, and Thomas Mowll saw Mr. Ashby's servants strike Philip on the head with a staff behind as he was striking at Mr. Ashby. The result of the proceedings is not recorded, but no doubt Master Philip smarted severely for his ferocity upon one so high in authority as Mr. Ashby.

ELECTIONEERING.

Representatives in Parliament were formerly "citizens" of the places they represented, and the bailiff or mayor is frequently mentioned as the Parliament man. They received wages, so much per day, which were fixed by statute. Owing to the great distance to London, the droves of robbers on the road, the want of bridges compelling travellers to round-about routes, no regular communication with their homes, and the consequent neglect of their private business, the good old home-staying burgess saw nothing desirable in the honour of M.P.-ship, especially at a time when the third estate had not become developed into the real ruling power, as at present; for at that time the barons and knights sat apart from the burgesses, disdaining to mix with such mean personages, who were merely called on to give consent to the taxes, but were not consulted on graver affairs of state. Some towns grudged the expense of representatives, and so lost the privilege. At the close of the 16th century the office began to be solicited, and bribery and election tricks soon became the fashion. On the arrival of a member from London the leading townsmen usually invited him to an inn, to hear the news of the great

* The bridge over the town ditch.

metropolis, and no doubt on such an occasion an evening of great delight and wonderment ensued.

In 1581 the following entry occurs in the records :—

"Expenses of the cytesyns for the last Parliament. Christopher Dyghton and Thomas Wellesgrove did ryde towards Parliament 12th of Januarie, and came home agayne 19th March, beinge in the whole 69 daies, and to be alowed the old rates, viz., everie daye 4s., which doe amount in the whole to £13. 16s. and 12d. a daie for theyr man."

Of this sum the Corporation paid a moiety, and the rest was assessed on the various wards. At length this came to be considered a burden, and in the time of James II. the members for Worcester (Messrs. Bromley and Nanfan) declined to receive wages, the city having been severely impoverished by the Stuart wars. A Worcester election scene in 1553, from these records, has already been published, from which it appeared that at the election of John Aynesworth and Thomas Hyll as members for this city in the above year, the Corporation wishing to carry the matter with a high hand, the "commons" assembled in the Guildhall declared that they would have one Collynge, or Collins, a shoemaker, to represent them. The high bailiff and his friends then sought to conciliate the mob and caused one of their own number to count the votes present for both parties, the result being that only 48 appeared for Collins and 120 for the Corporation's nominees, the said 48 making up in noise what they lacked in numerical importance ; and ultimately Collins and some of his friends were committed to ward, but soon afterwards released. They then waited on the citizens from door to door, putting down the names of all who were desirous of returning Collins, and in the attempt to get up a new election an affray took place which had nearly ended in manslaughter. Collins and the other ringleaders were then imprisoned, but appealed to the Council in the Marches against their wrongful

imprisonment, and the cause was entered as "Roger Colling, Phe. Nicholas, Ed. Eccleston, Rd. Penryse, and Robert Colling, plaintiffs, and John Rowland and Wm. Harper, bailiffs of the city, defendants." On the trial, Nicholas confessed that shortly after the election he with divers others that were assembled at his house went about with pen and ink to the houses of the citizens, taking their names, and could not show good cause why he had done so, "so that it seemeth he meant to breed tumult, and the committing him to ward was very well done," and as he behaved arrogantly before the Council it was ordered that he should be further imprisoned till the mind of the Council was known. The other cases were adjourned, but ultimately they were all discharged.

MUSTERS OF SOLDIERS.

In no one particular is the distinction between our own times and those under consideration more conspicuous than in the arrangements made for the defence of the country against foreign invasion. The Spaniard, equally with the Frenchman, was then the natural enemy of Englishmen; and there being no standing army in this country, our sea-port towns had to keep themselves in a constant state of defence against the enemy, who, from one quarter or another, was supposed to be ever ready to pounce upon some weak point in this devoted little island. The greatest portion of this heavy responsibility seems to have unjustly fallen on the inhabitants of those towns instead of being made a national charge. When a large force of men was required for active service either at home or abroad, the various towns and boroughs were called upon for their respective contingents; and even public bodies, such as Deans and Chapters, as also landowners and others, were compelled to furnish a certain number of men, properly clothed and armed. Every citizen was

bound to be perpetually provided with bows and arrows, sword, and other arms, in peace as well as in war,—a circumstance which led to constant sanguinary affrays in the streets, churchyards, and other public places. The law for assaults then contemplated two stages of the offence—the common assault and the drawing of blood by means of a weapon, in the latter case the punishment being enhanced. The old system, of taking men from their homes, and shops, and families, and suddenly posting them off for an indefinite period to some place "ayont the Tweed," to the ever refractory Ireland, or to the French at Calais, with the by no means remote probability of never returning to be buried in their own churchyards, was in truth a very clumsy one, by far more inconvenient if not as expensive as that of standing armies; we therefore may not be surprised to find that the city of Worcester, loyal as she always was, exerted herself at various times to evade some of the burthen sought to be laid upon her. Thus on one occasion, when the French menaced Calais (a town on the French coast then in our possession), and 600 soldiers were ordered out of the county of Worcester, to serve under Lord Clinton, High Admiral, a letter was sent from the authorities of Worcester complaining that the commission (the Sheriffs and Justices of the county) had ordered a muster in the city, when by its charter—the city being a county of itself—they had no right to meddle with musters in the city, and that such musters could only be raised by special letters from the Sovereign. It appears that 50 men were ordered by the above commission to be raised in the city towards the 600 men forthcoming from the whole county, and the petitioners alleged that the city was "not the twentieth parte of ye countie, eyther for the number of inhabitants or parishes, or value of theyr substance, lyvinge, or power, consideringe what a time of penurie and darthe

yt hath bin of corne and of other thinges which ye cytizens cannot come by, but onelie by money, which they get hardelye with their manual occupation." A reply was soon afterwards received from the Privy Council to the effect that in future no such breach of the city's privilege should be allowed, and that, whenever a muster was required, a royal letter should be sent specially for the purpose. This order was signed by "Arundell, Pembroke, Clynton, Wotton, Cecyll, Dudley, and Sakvyle." A similar petition, dated April 14, 1573, and signed by Ralphe Wyatt and Thomas Shawe, bailiffs, and John Rowlands *alias* Steynor, and Thomas Heywood, aldermen, pleads the privilege of the city against general muster orders, and goes on to aver that "although this cittie is of late decaied by reason they have not the vente or traifaykinge (traffic) beyond ye seas with theyr clothes as before this tyme they have had, which is the onlye staye of our lyvinge, to serve her Majesty accordinge to our powers, and yet will be as reddye as anye other countrye or cittie shalbe."

In 1553 appears in the records the copy of Queen Mary's letter against "Lady Jane and the Duke of Suffolk's treason," and ordering 500 men to be raised in the county of Worcester, of which the city was to find 40. In the first year of Elizabeth an order was issued from the Queen at Westminster to the bailiffs of Worcester to provide 100 labourers to send to work at the fortifications of "our town of Barwicke," and the unsettled relations with France and Scotland, "wherein our derest syster ye late Queene hath left this realme remaininge," were alluded to. The muster orders for that year called out men between 16 and 60 years of age, and the Worcestershire soldiers wore white coats with red crosses! In the city records is a letter to the bailiffs of Worcester ordering the raising of men for the service of Queen Elizabeth in Ireland, dated Aug. 5,

1569, and signed by Norfolk, R. Leycester, E. Clynton, W. Howard, F. Knollys, and W. Cecill. It seems, however, that the city refused to furnish more than four men for this service. We have also an interesting document relative to a muster in 1570 :—

"The charge of ye xxij souldiers following, sent from this cittie towards ye north, against ye rebells there the thyrd of December in the xij yeare of the rayne of our most sovrayne ladye Elizabeth, which xxij souldiers are parcell of cccc footmen and l. horsemen sent out of the countie.

Pykmen.	
John Wygfall Thos. Smart John Doill Anthony Spencer Robert Davies John Phelps	With corselett & pyke sword & dagger.
Archars.	
Yevan Vaghan Thos. Collyns Ffrancys Cleyfyld John Pitt, tailor Thos. Trueman Geo. Harryson John Pytt, wever Wm. Ffarmer	Bow & arrow sword dagger & skull.
Harkubysiers.	
Thos. Trowt John Jones Harry Robbyns Pyers Davies Thos. Saunders Robt. Prowde Raph Stockdale Rd. Jackson	With calyvers & moryons.

"The charge of theyr armoure and wepons amounted to xlij*li.* and for theyr cotes xi*li.* xi*s.* and leveyd as followeth, over and besyde the furniture of the cittie wareddynes, the Chamber to pay one-half and the other half divided among the wards thus: High Ward, v*li.* vi*s.*; Allhallowes Ward, v*li.* vi*s.*; Martyn's, lvij*s.* iv*d.*; Peter's, lvij*s.* iv*d.*; Nicholas, xlv*s.*; Andrew's, xlv*s.*; Clement's, xv*s.* iv*d.*"

Ireland was the principal field for the military exploits of the Worcester soldiery. In one of the levies for the Irish rebellion Worcestershire is placed among the Welsh counties.

In September, 1574, occurs the following :—

"The charge and furniture of iij sowdiers appoynted and agreed on by ye commissioners of ye countie and the——— of this cittie, parcell of fiftie men toward Yerland, uppon condition that from henceforth the cittie shalbe charged to help the sheer (shire) after the rate of iij men every c. with theyr furniture, before the Lord Byshop of Worcester.

A calyvr with his furniture	xxiij*s.* iv*d.*
A burganett	vis. viij*d.*
A bowe with a burganett	xiiij*s.* iv*d.*
A corselet with his holbard.....	xl*s.*
Three swords, daggers, and gyrdles ..	xlviij*s.*
Three men's apparel.....	iv*li.* xs.
Sum totalis	xi*li.* xvi*d.*"

In the general muster-orders or commissions sent to this county the age of 16 was stated as the minimum for the soldiers, and they were summoned to appear at certain places on days named. The articles for mustering were very long and minute. Here is an order as to the distribution of weapons in 1573 :—

"Item, there shalbe regarde had how to devyde and distribute the use of the weapons in ye sortinge of the bandes that there may be in everie hundreth footemen at the least xl harquebiziers and xx archers, if soe it may conveniently be procured; and to that ende the said commissioners shal use all good perswasions and shall geve some good examples in the countrie by exercise in games and matches to encrease these too weapons, forseinge yt the archers may be men of strength and so the more abell to shute in the long bowes, and because it is not lefull for anie parson but suche as by the statutes are thereto licensed to shute in anie handgon or harquebz her Majestie is pleased that all such as shal be apoynted by the commissioners to be harquebuziers to use theyr said weapons without daunger of the lawes, so as they doe not use the same otherwise than others may doe that are by the statute licensed," &c.

Sir Thos. Russell, Sir G. Blount, Sir John Lyttleton,

Rd. Lygon, and John Folliott, were the commissioners appointed to take charge of the muster in this county for the last-named year, and the numbers of "hable men" taken in the said muster for Worcestershire, exclusive of the city, were as follows :—

"Oswaldslow .. 456 Halfshire..... 345 Payshore..... 346 Dodingtre .... 226 Blakenhurst .. 128	some totall 1,500 whereof	Archers .... 475 Pykes ..... 375 Billes ..... 500 Harquebuses. 150."

The document goes on to state that the county is but slenderly furnished with armour, owing to some being missed on the return from Newhaven and from the North, where they had been against the rebels.

In 1577 another muster took place, when instructions were given "to make choice rather of meet and hable husbandmen and formors sonnes that are likely to continew in the place than of such artificers as comonly are removeinge." Frequent complaints had been made of soldiers that were pressed proving inefficient, and taking the first opportunity of deserting; and no wonder! The system was a bad one, the soldiers frequently became demoralised, and were a pest and a scourge to their own countrymen wherever they arrived, in consequence of their brutal violence and rapine. The authorities of towns, hearing of the approach of troops, would frequently go out to meet them, and bribe the officers to pass on to the next station, just as the inhabitants in some place in the east used to pray Heaven to carry the plague over their town to their neighbours. As the troops passed through the country in 1588, the year of the Spanish armada, they sold their arms as they went, falsely alleging that they had received no pay, and were obliged to do so. At Wellington, Somersetshire, a few soldiers pressed in Devonshire, and on their way to the north, murdered their officer, dragged his body about

the streets, and disbanded themselves. Captain Wolseley encouraged his soldiers to toss the Mayor of Scarborough in a blanket, and said he would make him know that the military was above the civil power. No wonder that Englishmen wished the wars were over. In the aforesaid muster order of 1577 instructions were also given to pay regard to the maintenance of archery in every parish, and that "other unlawful games be utterly barred." Henry VIII. passed an act that all persons under 60 years of age were to have bows and arrows, and in 1578 a local order was passed "That the butts be made in everie place where they have bin accustomed to be made within the liberties of this cittie before the ascension of our Lord God next comynge, at the charges of them who before tyme have bin charged therwith, uppon payne of xiijs. iv*d.* for everie paiere unmade;" but neither Act of Parliament nor local bye-law could prevent this weapon dying a natural death and giving place to gunpowder and the musket. Complaints were made that there was too much *bowling* and too little *shooting*, so laws were passed to put a stop to the games with which men recreated themselves (shove-groat, dice, cards, bowling alleys, "trowle madam," &c.), in the hope of driving men to archery; but all was of no use: bows and arrows very nearly died out with the 16th century. As a pleasant modern poet sings—

The curtle-axe is out of date!
The good old cross-bow bends to Fate;
'Tis gone the archer's craft!
No tough arm bends the springing yew,
And jolly draymen ride in lieu
Of Death upon the shaft.

Farewell, then, ancient men of might!
Crusader, errant-squire, and knight!
Our coats and customs soften;
To rise would only make you weep!
Sleep on, in rusty iron, sleep,
As in a safety coffin!

Great consideration was shown, in the orders for musters, not to burden the poorer sort of householders, and also that the days for training should be chiefly on holidays; likewise much precaution was recommended in not wasting powder and bullets unnecessarily; the pay allowed was 8d. a day. In the year last-named the following was issued, which will prove interesting to our modern riflemen :—

"Orders howe ev'y p'son that shalbe trayned shalbe towght to handell and use his peece :

"Imp's, that everie such p'son be instructed how to handell and cary his piece, flaske, and toucheboxe, and also to instruct him what weighte of shotte and powder is meete for his peece. Then to teech him howe in handsom man'r he shall charge his peece, and after howe to laye it to his cheeke ; and being once acquainted howe to charge, then to teache him how to cary and shoote of his peece at randome, and afterwards to be towt to shoote at a marke certen, the same to be distante the uttermost levell of the peece. Item, after being at the two first meetings experienced how to handell and charge his peece and to shoote at a marke, at the laste meetinge they are to be trayned further howe uppon a small stay eyther in marche or skyrmishe they may most redely shote and spedely charge and discharge the said peece. Item, at everie daye appointed in instruccons for the trayning the gentleman apoynted to this charge shal give order that the private persons apoynted to be trayned shall not use except at such time and in such order as he shalbe comanded so to do, provided that at everie such time of meeting he shal not shoote above ten shottes of the common alowance of bullett and powder allotted unto him by the chardges of the countrie. Item, that the peces, before the trayning, be visited by the gentlemen, to be goode and meete for the purpose, and not such as are like to breake or doe any harme. Item, that good care be had and greate charge be given out in the tyme of the skyrmishe or exercise at theyr last meeting, no peece to be leden with bullett or otherwise, to be shott of whereby anie person may be hermed or put in hassard of lief or lyme. Twenty bolts for the calyver of the tower is just one pound weight, and one pound of powder will make xxv. shot, allowed $\frac{3}{4}$ weight of powder to everie bolt, and the ov'plus after that rate is five shots more, which is for touche powder, so that in the whole xx. bolts are to be made the pounde and xxx. shott to the pound of powdre, whereof five allowed for touche poudre."

Then follow the names of 12 soldiers (out of 200 to be trained in the county), with an inventory of their accoutrements. The levies at this time were generally of men between 21 and 50 years of age. In 1578 the following odd jumble of household furniture and armour is called—

"An inventorie of the armore and harnes belonging to the cittie in the tyme of Rd. Dawks and Ric. Hall, chamberlaynes there: one brasen stryck, a pecke, a gallon, and one yarde ye p'mytts, all of brasse; xi sheves of arrows, whereof vij remaineth, and one bowe bought of Thos. Broke, x calyvers, whereof fyve were sent into Yerland (Ireland); x flasks and x twiche boxes, whereof fyve into Yerland; ix head peeces and viij moulds, all sent into Yerland; viij gorgetts of mayle; vi black bylles, whereof iij remayneth; one pottell potte, one quart pott, and one pinte of pewter, one payer of aundyers (fire-dogs), one payer of tonges, one paire of tables, one fyre forke, one payre of bellowes, one fyre showell, ij mettelothes, one masser (drinking bowl), bound at the topp with sylver, and a rose in the bothim, beinge parcel gylt; one carpet of orrys worke and another Venyce carpett, sixe greate quyssyons (cushions) and fyve smal qussions of sackeloth, ij vaynes of ireon (weathercocks?) having uppon them the city's armes, whereof one is at the gras cross (the cross which stood nearly opposite the present Civet Cat), xi buckets of leather."

A warrant or order from the Council of the Marches in Wales was received in Worcester in 1597 for 50 soldiers to be furnished *at an hour's notice* to serve in Ireland; they were to be marched to Bristol. The towns of Evesham, Bengeworth, and Shipston, "by reason of the plague of theyr povertie, not to be charged therewith." Charges are frequently made for mending armour; and in 1595, "Frances Hewes, sorgin, for his cures don to pore souldiers," was paid 30s. The two succeeding years involved a great demand for soldiers for Ireland, and on the records appears a letter from the Privy Council to the bailiffs of Worcester requiring "contributions towards setting forth of ships for Bristowe for the defence of the countrie." Robert Warmstry and Rowland Berkeley, two of the leading men of

the city, were entrusted to manage this matter, and the result was that the "contribution" of this city was commuted for £40, which they agreed to pay, "at the same time praying not to be called on againe to subscribe towards Bristowe, from which ye city of Worcester is very remote, and hath no connection by merchandyse or otherwise, nor anie vessells cominge up thence by the river but which are onlie our clothiers and other artificers."

In the same reign a "commission for saltpetre" was issued (was this connected with the manufacture of gunpowder?) authorising the local authorities to "dig and break grounde in barns, stables, and other places convenient for saltpetre, in our realme of England, as well in the late suppressed and dispossessed abbeys and houses of religion, ould castles, as elsewher, within franchises and liberties as without." What can be the meaning of such curious localities being selected? At present, our main supply of saltpetre is from Bengal, where it exists in the soil, and from which the rough nitre, or crude saltpetre, is obtained by washing, evaporation, and crystallization. In France, Germany, and other countries, the salt is produced artificially, in what is called nitrarias, or nitre beds.

THE STREETS AND HIGHWAYS.

Among the mutations which Worcester has undergone, the names of its streets, highways, inns, &c., are prominent, and well deserve consideration; and although to pursue the subject into all its ramifications would demand more time and research than the writer has at his disposal, he has endeavoured to note a few of the changes which have come to his knowledge in a rather extensive search of documentary records appertaining to the city and neighbourhood:—

Angel-street: formerly called Anger-lane or Angel's-lane, also the horsefair before the time of Elizabeth.

I have heard that Angel-street took its name from an ancient hostelry called the Angel, at the top of the street, the back premises of which extended into Broad-street, by the side of Mr. Skarratt's present shop; but this requires confirmation. At the bottom of Angel-street was formerly an orchard belonging to the adjoining friary; in 1624 it was purchased by an order of the Corporation and converted into a burying ground in consequence of the crowded condition of the Cathedral yard; and when full of bodies, being closed for some time, the Corporation turned it into a sheep-market, which not being further required when the present cattle-market was constructed, it was left as an open space for the reception of carts, &c., on market days. In an old map this space is described as having then been All Saints' burying ground. Smock or Smoke-alley, leading out of this street towards Black-friars, has been of late dignified with the name of Angel-row; and Morton square, in the same row, I am informed, was formerly known as the Friars' Mall, being part of the land belonging to the Black Friars.

Barbourne: at least 500 years ago was called Bever-burne and Bereburne, and in the time of Richard II. Berbourne and Berbone. Habingdon says: "The north gate, commonly called Foregate, and properly Forest-gate, and thence to the north barrs of the city" (he probably means Bar-bourne). Bourne means a brook, and Bever-bourne may have meant "the beaver-brook," and Bevere "the beaver island," as being anciently the haunts of beavers. Or Bar-bourne may have meant the bar, or gate, or boundary, at the brook.

Bath-road: was called Tewkesbury-way.

Bank-street: Powick-lane, Poytes-lane (in 1610 map). The lower portion of this street is still called by the original name.

Bridge-street: cut through some houses which formerly connected Newport-street with Quay-street,

and passing through the gardens behind them, approaching the river, where the new bridge was opened in 1781, and the old bridge at the bottom of Newport-street, after an existence of 468 years, was destroyed. At the top of Bridge-street, and bottom of Broad-street, was the beast-market, from which an alley (called Rush-alley) ran down to the river in the same direction as the present Bridge-street. Here the poor rush-sellers held their little market from time immemorial, until the spring of 1876, when they were ruthlessly driven away by the police. I agree with my friend Mr. Haywood, who gave me these particulars, that probably this was one of the oldest market places in the city, as in the middle ages rushes were in constant use to strew the floors both of our churches and private dwellings, before the application of wood or stone to that purpose.

Broadheath: (in an ancient lease) "St. Giles's, near Lichheath, commonly called Broadheath."

Bromwich-lane, St. John's: this lane, I am told, was once the Malvern-road and called Hardwick-road, and afterwards Swan-post lane. Swan-pool was called Hardwick-pool, and belonged to the court-house of Hardwick Manor, within the manor of St. John's, and belonging to the Dean and Chapter. One of the cottages now has a board on it with the name "Hardwick's Spring Cottages."

Bush-walk: leading out of the Bull-ring, St. John's, towards Henwick; on an old map is named Rosemary-lane. Probably that was before the opening of Henwick New road.

Birdport: the changes in this name have arisen more from the diversity of spelling in the olden time than from any other cause. It is spelt in two ways in one deed—as far back as Edward I.—namely, Brydport, and Brudeport; subsequently it was denominated Byrdeportt, Bearport, Beerport, and Burport.

Bull-entry: probably an inn at the top of this entry gave the name to it, or some Mr. Bull had property there.

The Butts: this name, which should properly have been confined to the road from the cattle-market up to the Five Ways Inn, and the Little Butts and Back Butts to the back of the Star Hotel, has now been applied to the whole of the highway from thence to Salt-lane, thereby supplanting the proper name of the Back-walk. This is a small part of the mischief done a few years ago by the meddling of a very incompetent party then in the Town Council, as I shall hereafter show. What appears in old maps as the Little Butts is now called the Butts Walk, and the Back Butts is now the Cherry Tree Walk.

Cross: in the map of 1610 is represented as opposite to where Mr. Birley's shop now is and facing Broad-street. This was the Grass-cross, a market for butter, cheese, and fruit, being held there; labourers and servants standing there at set times to be hired (these abominable mops are very ancient in Worcester). A high cross of stone stood there, and probably grass grew more or less about the site. There was an inn at the Cross, called "The Golden Cross Inn," still commemorated by the name of Mr. Allen's outfitting establishment; also another inn called "The Talbot," celebrated for some of the venison feasts of the Corporation.

College-street: taken out of the original cemetery of the Cathedral, or churchyard of St. Michael's, under the powers of Acts of Parliament Geo. 3, whereby a new entrance was made to the city from London, instead of through Lich-street, and for the first time the sanctuary of the Cathedral was broken into by taking down (about 1795) the College-grates—a gate-house with tenement over, forming the entrance into College-yard, and connecting the houses at the top of Lich-street with those across the way. From Edgar-

street across to Messrs. Eaton's was also previously closed up with houses and gardens. As to the cemetery, the history of that will be found in my "Monastery and Cathedral of Worcester." It may however be stated that the ancient cemetery, or burial ground, contained old St. Michael's Church (opposite to its present site); and close to the church a great bell tower or clochium, with lofty spire, covered with lead; a great number of houses (long since removed) irregularly ranging on the north side of the Cathedral; a chapel over the charnel-house, or subterranean deposit of human bodies, a portion of the vault being still in existence, between the north porch of the Cathedral and the present gateway to the Deanery (then the Bishop's Palace); a great cross, at which sermons were preached to the citizens before the Reformation; an avenue of trees and pathway leading from the porch to the gates, and other trees around the burying ground; a pathway from the north porch to St. Michael's church, which then stood in the churchyard opposite to its present site; a pathway from the College-grates to the back of the Talbot entry; and a pathway from the lich-gate to St. Mary's Steps, near Edgar Tower (which pathway was called St. Mary's Alley). Mr. Woof has obligingly shown me a tracing of the original MS. plan of George Young (1794) for laying out and making College-street. The lich-gate, through which all funerals passed, is still in existence near the Punch-bowl.

Church-street: was called the Dish-market, near St. Swithin's church.

Corn-market: formerly Corn-cheaping; but now its ancient occupation's gone, as there is such a rage for getting rid of good old names, will soon probably be turned into Victoria-place, or (in honour to its Music-hall) Apollo-square!

Castle-street: a very unnecessary and silly alteration of probably the most ancient name in the city, viz.,

Salt-lane, or Salt-way. This is supposed to have been the highway of the salt traffic from Droitwich to the Severn before the time of the Roman conquest; and that a junta of old ladies in the 19th century should prevail upon the ruling powers to set aside such landmarks as this, and substitute the totally unmeaning name of Castle-street (there never having been a castle near the spot) is a great pity, especially when we consider the difficulties such alterations of names occasion in the identification and transfer of property, and also that the previous existence of a Castle-place, near Edgar Tower, is the source of much confusion in the delivery of post letters, &c. The name of Salt-lane has been restored by the ruling powers, but many private parties, auctioneers and others, still persist in calling it by its absurd and unnecessary new name. At the bottom of this lane, the site of the present infirmary was formerly called Artichoke Field.

Copenhagen-street: changed from Cooken-street a few years ago, when humble and ancient names and landmarks began to be despised, and high-sounding titles substituted. Copenhagen, having a fanciful resemblance in sound to Cooken, was adopted perhaps in compliment to our neighbours the Danes, or in memory of the bombardment of their city; the silly godfathers of the new name having no respect for the associations attached to the ducking or cucking-stool which formerly conveyed scolding women down this way to the Severn, and so gave rise to the ancient name of the street. Several centuries ago it was spelt Cokyn, Koykn, Cucking (in map of 1610), Coken (Edward IV.), and in the last century Cookend and Cooken. In the palmy days of the clothing trade it was one of the most flourishing streets in the city; and the woolsack, which may still be seen carved on the bargeboards of one of its old houses, was the badge of that trade. In 1745, the corner house turning from Cooken-street into

Birdport was occupied by James Higgins, clothier, who had for his neighbours, east and north, John Reynolds, a clothier, and one Mence, a glover. In this same street, about 1667, lived John Jakeman, "barber, chirurgeon, and innholder." Mr. Christopher Dighton (one of the bailiffs or mayors), who figured largely on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Worcester, held leases of several houses at the top of the street; and at the bottom, near the "key or wharf," was "a common storehouse and prison called Bridewell for the said city;" this was in 1694.

Chesnut-street: Chesnut-walk, anciently adjoining or part of Whiston fields.

Church-walk (St. Clement's): Cold Comfort was its ancient name.

Crown-east: improperly so termed of late. It was Cro-nest in the time of Elizabeth; Crowenyst in Philip and Mary; John of Crow-nest is mentioned *temp.* Henry 6th; and the very earliest mention of it yet met with (about Edward 1st) is Crow-nest. [Although this place is at some distance from the city I make no apology for introducing it here, as I shall likewise do in other instances where modern errors may be corrected by old deeds. No doubt Crow-nest derived its name from an ancient rookery, as many names both of families and places originated from natural objects.]

Diglis: Duglies, Diglies, D'Eglise, Duydeley, Digley, and other variations.

Dolday: Doldale, Dowldall (in a will of 1607). Is not this name and that of Merryvale significant of church fasts, charities, and festivals? Although the Black Friars were themselves sturdy beggars, probably they dispensed *doles* to the poor in Dolday, which was just outside their walls, and assisted at the periodical rejoicings in Merryvale opposite. This however is purely conjectural. Would not the latter be more properly Miryvale?

Edgar-street and Tower: Edgar Tower was called "St. Mary's gate," "the great tower," or "gatehouse to the monastery" of St. Mary, and the steps leading down to the street near the tower are still called St. Mary's Steps. The name of Edgar Tower seems a modern application, as I have nowhere met with it till the last century; and the same may be said of Edgar-street, which was probably a name given at the same time, as complimentary to the memory of King Edgar. Every one now knows that this tower could not have been built by that monarch, but was probably erected in the time of King John, as appears by a portion of the architecture, and there being, indeed, a tradition to that effect mentioned by Habingdon. With regard to Edgar-street, it was called "The Knoll," or "Knowle's-end," in allusion to the knoll or rising ground on which the gateway, castle, &c., stood. In the most ancient records "Stodemaris' Knoll" is the name used. "The place or street called le knoll" (Rd. 2nd); "Ten. s'c'do ab hospicio de le trumpe v'sus angulum de le Knolle" (Hen. 6th). This means "the second tenement from the hospice or inn called the Trumpet, towards the corner of the Knoll;" this is curious. "In vico vocat Knolles-end:" in the street called Knolles-end (Charles 2nd). Knowles-end is mentioned long after Edgar-street began, just as we still continue (and rightly so) to use the names Salt-lane and Frog-lane instead of their absurd modern substitutes. Thomas, in his "Survey," says that Edgar-street was so called before 1736. In a map dated 1741 the name Edgar-street is used, while Knowles-end is applied to the bottom part or corner of the street.

Foregate-street: anciently called Forest-street and Northgate-street. These names did not precede or follow each other, but were used indiscriminately. As early as Edward 2nd it was called Forigate. The *fore* gate was derived from its being the principal gate or

entrance to the city : *north* gate alluded to its geographical position ; and *forest* street to the fact that in former times the forest of Feckenham came nearly up to the city in that direction. *Temp.* Henry 6th, a "*tyle*-house in Foryatt" is mentioned, as though tiles were then a novelty ; and "a tenement in the same street in the holding of *sissoris grinder*"—a curious attempt to blend the Latin and the vernacular in the description of a humble calling which we should now designate by the name of "a razor grinder."* As late as the 17th century it was occasionally called Forest-street ; and at the same period, in a lease, is the description of "a tenement nigh to Foregate *or* Northgate, at the corner leading towards Sansome's stile." Northgate and Foregate are used indiscriminately till about a century ago. A very large portion of Foregate-street was destroyed by the cavaliers in the civil wars.

Friar-street, or Grey Friars-street : has unaccountably remained without change in name, which it derived from the Grey Friars, who had a house on the site of the late city gaol. Habingdon informs us that there was a gate opening from the friary into the city ; and without the city wall, which passed near there, was the church of St. Lawrence ; and within the wall was St. Lawrence-lane, which, between Needlers-street (Pump-street) and Lich-street, made a passage into High-street. That lane is not now in existence, nor any memory of its whereabouts, unless it was the present Grainger's-entry, which at the bottom is stopped up by some old-looking houses.

Fish-street : has undergone many changes, such as St. Alban-street, St. Mary-street, Cowell-street, and in an old lease I have found : "Fish-street, formerly called or known by the name of Corvers-street *alias* St.

* About 1570, "Broke, the virginal maker," of High-street, is mentioned; and a broker (David Morgan) first appears about a century ago.

Alban's-street." It was Cornish-street in the time of Henry 6. Probably also Corviser's-lane, a street for shoemakers, most trades having then their own special habitats. As early as the time of Edward 2nd, Thomas de Dene, "corvisarius," is mentioned as having a shop in this street. What is now called Little Fish-street was Huxter-street in the time of Henry 5th, Hockstere-strete *temp.* Richard 2nd; and in 1287 there is mention of "a hall called la Guyld-halle in Huxtare-street." This could not have been the Townhall, but probably a house for a guild, or fraternity, or trading club. A deed of the time of Richard 2nd mentions "Hockester-streete near Yeld-hall." Habingdon says this was once a market of hucksters. Within living recollection there were barracks on the west side of Little Fish-street, and a regiment was almost continually stationed there, and the offending soldiers were flogged either in Payne's Meadows or at the Riding-house in Frog-lane. West of St. Alban's Church was at one time called Mardyke, where the porcelain factory was and Messrs. Dent's gloving is now carried on. I suppose Mardyke relates to the highway between the church and the above establishment.

Fearnal-heath: called Vernal-heath (meaning *green* heath) in 1697, and no doubt the correct name.

Group-lane: improperly so called; should be Grope-lane; it was Grope-street in 1600.

Hylton-street: Hylton-street (Henry 7th); Hill-ton lane (1611); Hinton lane (1780). Was not this to denote the lane leading to the *town* on the *hill* (Henwick)?

London-road: called Oxford-road in a directory of 1793.

Lich-street: altered to this from Leech-street a few years ago. Both modes of spelling prevailed in the olden times. It meant the street of the dead, as

corpses were taken through it, passing under the lich-gate, by the Punch-bowl Inn, to be buried in the Cathedral cemetery. This was the entrance from London before College-street was made, and was occupied by respectable tradesmen, like any other street. In 1690, A. Hopkins, currier, F. Rogers, apothecary, and J. Ward, shoemaker, resided there; and in 1751, among its inhabitants were J. Callow, glover, J. Harris, barber, R. Barr, hair merchant, Jos. Yarnold, glazier, Wm. Davies, bricklayer, besides gunsmiths, tailors, &c., and several notable inns, one of which at least still exists by the same name, which I shall show when I come to treat of inns in general. But when the fiat was passed for the College-street improvement, vested interests (as in the more recent case of the old Corn-market) had to give way, and not a word about compensation is said in the records, although poor Lich-street must rapidly have dwindled down to what it is now. No more lumbering waggons, heavily laden with goods and passengers, turned its sharp angles *en route* for the metropolis; the new road offered a much finer bit of galloping ground for the fast coaches which then began to appear upon the scene, and so Lich-street soon put on the aspect of those little towns or villages we now see unprovided with a railway.

Mealcheapen-street: sometime known as Cheese-cheeping-street, and in the map of 1610 called Oytmeal market. All kinds of flour and meal were sold here, as the unmanufactured corn was in the square or open space below.

Museum-passage: formerly and still known as Cheshire-cheese-entry, but I know not the origin of the name; probably there was an inn of that name there, and a tradition remains that the first coach which plied from Worcester to London was driven from the Cheshire Cheese yard (a large open space before the Museum was built on a part of the site.) This seems to confirm the idea of an inn having been there.

New-street: called in the Cathedral records Glovemakers'-street ("*in vico cyrothecariorum*," as early as the 13th century; Glovare-street *temp.* Edward 2nd; subsequently Glover-street (perhaps the habitat of glovemakers.) The first date of its *new* name I have met with in the Corporation records is 1567, but it has been called New-street *alias* Glover-street until within the last century. Habingdon says it was rightly called New-street, "for I have not heard of any ancient houses there," (the old ones now standing being probably new erections in his time.)

Newport-street: Habingdon says: "Newport, Eport, or Eyeport (eye signifies water); perhaps the port or key where are the vessels which bring in and carry out commodities." In a deed some 200 years old, Ewport *alias* Newport-street is named, and "Maddock's-slip" as leading from that street (to Severn, perhaps through the water-gate.) As late as 1773, Eauport-street appears. At the bottom of the street you met with the city wall, parallel with the Severn; in which wall was the water gate, and a little further to the right St. Clement's Church. Looking to the left was the bridge, on the top of which was "a faire tower," and a passage over the water to "the Pinch," (still so called). The old waterworks were on an island in the river between the old and new bridges. About two centuries ago, an inn, called the Red Lion, was immediately at the west end of the bridge, and kept by a widow Chance; and on the Worcester side, Wm. Astley, a shoemaker, lived in a tenement described as being "six and a halfe taylors' yards wide and twelve and a halfe long." (Tailors' measures were used in public measurements until the present standard was fixed by statute, I think in 1824.) In 1751, Henry Hill, tobacconist, occupied the house adjoining the Worcester side of the bridge. Houses were described as being "on the wall" near the bridge: perhaps they were built into the wall, as a part of St. Clement's Church seems to have been.

Newdix-court: Newdick's-court derived its name from its founder. In some documents I have seen it called Newditch-court, but this is an error. Henry Newdick was a member of the Corporation in the 15th century, and his name appears among those who covenanted with the Prior and Convent for the terms on which Henwick water was to be conveyed to the Cathedral. He is mentioned (among other famous citizens, self-elevated) as having left his name to posterity in the erection of Newdick's-court, and this now wretched place may then have contained his residence.

Palace-yard: formerly Bishop's-street, leading from the College-gates to the old gates of the Palace (now the residence of the Very Rev. the Dean.)

Pump-street: was originally Needlers-street or Nelder-street. Mention is made in an old document of needle makers living in St. Helen's parish. That portion of this street which is between the Shambles and Friar-street was called Badam's Vine, or Ballam's Vine (origin or meaning not known.) There was a Nadere-street *temp.* Edward 2nd, probably Pump-street. The modern name, I have heard, was given to this street as being the first in which a pump was erected.

Powell's-row, St. John's: in the earliest records of the city Rotten-row is mentioned as a prominent member of the pendicle of St. John's. A very old inhabitant remembers about 70 or 80 years ago a builder living in St. John's named Powell, who bought a row of houses which her mother, she thinks, called "Rotten-row;" he built a few more houses at the end of the row and then called it Powell's-row; his executors sold most of the property to Mr. Bevan, a maltster, who died and left it to his nephew, Mr. J. J. Morton, who, a few years ago, gave it up to his son, Mr. F. B. Morton.

Pitchcroft: Pursecroft in time of Henry the 7th; Prestcroft, and a great variety of other spellings at later periods.

Quay-street : Cayen-street (Hen. 7th) ; Keine-street, 1670 ; Keyen-street, 1724 ; and Cain or Key-street subsequently. "Woodstart-street, nigh unto ye key or water wharf," is mentioned in the time of Elizabeth, and at a much earlier period it was spelt "Woodstaff-street ;" in a document more than 300 years old it is called "Woodstath-street, *alias* Keyne-street," so that it probably had received its new name early in the 15th century.

St. Martin's-gate : formerly Clap-gate, and which ought to have been allowed to remain, as indicating that at this spot the citizens obtained access to the fields beyond the city wall by means of a little gate which on being opened clapped on one side and the other, as we still see in many places.

St. Nicholas-street : was the garden market or Gaol-lane. The lane led to the old city gaol, situate on the site of the gardens and property now belonging to Avenue House and cottages adjacent in Trinity Gardens. The entrance to the old gaol was near the premises till recently occupied as a Savings-bank. At the back of this, according to an advertisement in a Gloucester paper in the year 1742, was a large piece of void ground, "whereon might be built a handsome street or square ; which, being near the heart of the city, it is presumed, might turn out to great advantage. The like quantity of land lying altogether in the heart of a city is scarcely to be seen in England." And the house in the Avenue, at the Cross, now occupied by Messrs. Corbett, solicitors, was described as "A new large Sash'd House, built after the modern Fashion, and well-vaulted, a Garden containing an Acre of Land, with a large Court before the House, Coach-House and Stables, fit for a Gentleman or a Wholesale Tradesman." St. Nicholas-street was at that time no street, or rather thoroughfare, there being no outlet to Lowesmoor except for foot passengers, who had to go through a narrow entry with turnstile.

A public-house called the Dolphin stretched across the street to where the old depôt, or police-station was; and the entry was at the left of that public-house. The last house which then stood in the lane is still in existence close to the same spot; and its old doorway and timber speak for themselves. The premises adjoining were then a workshop and timber-yard belonging to a Mr. Powell. Opposite are tenements, some of which were used as a parish workhouse before the building of the present house of industry. The cattle-market was once held in Gaol-lane, and the garden and butter markets close to St. Nicholas Church.

St. Swithin-street: Gosethrotelane (Hen. 6th), Grass-cross-lane (Ed. 4th), Gosethorne-lane early in the 16th century, Gosse-lane in map of 1610, and in a later document "Goosethrottle-lane, corruptly called Goose-lane." Probably these are but corruptions of Grass-cross-lane, or the lane leading to Grass-cross; or it may have been the market for the sale of poultry and geese. It has also been termed Little Mealcheapen-street.

Sansome-street: went by the name of the Town-ditch, which ran along outside the city wall into Watercourse-alley (still so called from its ancient connection with the ditch) and so on round the east of the city to Sidbury and the Severn. Sampson's-street was the name used in the time of Elizabeth, and probably some gentleman of the name of Sampson had built some houses on the bank of the town ditch, and so it was called after his name. "Sansome's stile" at the bottom of the street led into the fields. In a deed of 1742, the corner house of this street and Foregate-street was described as "lying and being without but near unto the Foregate or Northgate of the said city, at the corner of a lane or street leading towards Sansome stile, and hath on the north part thereof a messuage or tenement now in the tenure of Thos. Lilly, snuff-maker; and on the east part thereof a messuage or tenement now in

the possession of Robert Nicholls, innholder; and on the west part the street called Foregate-street; and on the south part the said lane leading towards Sansome stile."

Severn-street: formerly Frog-lane, and afterwards Diglis-street, a portion near the upper part being then called High Timber-street. Frog-lane was furnished with a gate-house called Frog-gate, and Frog-mill, near the river. For what reason was this characteristic old name suppressed?

Shaw-street: altered from Gardeners'-lane, in compliment to Mr. Shaw, who gave some property for the purpose of widening the lane—a much better reason than usually prevails in making such changes, but still a very inadequate one.

Shambles: probably first so called in 1600, when shambles were erected there, on the butchers migrating thither from the Cross, of which previous mention has been made. A Corporation deed names it Shamble-street in 1658. It had previously been known as Backe-street, Baxter-street, Bakester-street; and in a deed of 1687, "the Shambles or Baxter-street." Was it a street of bakers (when every trade had its special locality) or merely a *back* street, parallel with High-street? "The Sun Entry," leading from Baxter-street, is alluded to some centuries ago.

Sidbury: in 13th century was written Suddeburie, and at various periods subsequently Sodeburi, Sitheburie, Sowthbury, Sutheburi, &c. In a deed *temp.* Henry 7th there is specified "a tenement called Mylk-sopp in Sudburie:" was this a shop for the sale of milk? Habingdon says: "Sudbury, or south bound of the city, with an ancient gate-way, and the King's statue—I think King John." The gate and tower extended across Sidbury near the King's Head Inn, and so as to include the street which leads to St. Peter's Church.

St. Peter's-street: formerly Church-street, leading to St. Peter's Church, Sidbury.

Tallow-hill: called Tolly's Hill in Grundy's Directory for 1797. A Mr. Tolly was probably the owner of property there. Cannot the right name be restored?

Tyebridge-street: the same remorseless dauber who a few years ago consigned Salt-lane and other ancient names to oblivion had the audacity to sweep away here a trio at once—namely, Turkey (Torquay or Tower-quay, as its original name was said to be), Tyebridge, or the Causeway, and Cripplegate, all of which, being one continuous highway, was altered to St. Clement's-street, but recently a part of the old name has been restored, and the whole thoroughfare from the river to the Bull-ring in St. John's is now called Tybridge-street. As to Cripplegate, Habingdon says this was more properly called Bar-gate, because it was the bar or western bound of the city. It is said (though I know not on what authority) that it was a place for the relief of cripples and others. "Dole" tenement, at Tyebridge-end, is mentioned several centuries ago, which would seem to favour the tradition of charity. In one document Bar-gate is described as a bank or ditch opposite Severn. Some repairs done to the stone wall at the bar-gate is mentioned *temp.* Henry 8th. In 1788, "John Dent, of St. Peter's, glover," had the lease of a tenement and garden at Cripplegate. Many houses in Cripplegate were burnt by the Cavaliers in the civil wars.

Warmstry-slip: so called from the Warmstry family residing at the ancient mansion which was subsequently converted into a china manufactory, and now Dent and Co.'s glove warehouse. Previously it was called St. Mary's-street, or Cowell's-lode.

Wick: Wick, in St. John's, was called Wick Sapy, *alias* Golden Wick, *alias* Overwick; and Wick Episcopi was also called Bishop's Wick.

Wyld's-lane: acquired this name from the great

family of Wyld, formerly living at the Commandery; it was previously called Commander's-way, and Union-lane. There was, if there is not still, a residence there, called Union Farm. A few years ago the authorities opened a new road from the London-road to the upper part of Wyld's-lane, and the whole is now called by the latter name, but improperly so. The same kind of cleverness was shown in the extension of the Butts.

The following lanes, streets, and places, are missing, or at least I have failed to identify them by their modern names, thus showing the folly of such changes:—

Dog-lane.

Coale-lane.

Pig-market.

Harp Fort.

St. Clement's-lane.

Winnall or *Wynnehall-street:* was at the west end of the old bridge, and was probably that part now called Bridge-place, or the Pinch. When wine was imported *viâ* Bristol to Worcester and the midland counties, there might have been a warehouse or hall for storing it in this street, and hence the name.

Bethlehem; "The highway leading from Barbourne bridge to Bethlehem" occurs in an old deed. Where was Bethlehem, and why its name?

Bridle-street: "In vico Agwialiorum" is also mentioned in old deeds. It was in the parish of St. Helen, and the tenement of Simon Lodif is mentioned as paying rent in Bridelwhrte-street, *i. e. Agwialiorum vicus.* In the former part of this Latinised name we trace the remains of Geweald (lether), a bridle, with a substitution of "liorum" for "lether." The streets of Worcester being named by the trades carried on in them is an indication of extensive manufacture.

Hangman's Acre: probably in the south-west part of Pitchcroft, near the railway bridge over the Severn. In Green's view of the bridge, the spectator, looking

through one of the arches, observes a gallows in the distance on the side of Pitchcroft close to the river.

My only remaining notes on the streets and public places are—1. In the latter part of the last century the post-office was in Mealcheapen-street, as in a directory for 1793 Messrs. Morgan and Spilsbury are described as occupying the post-office, No. 17, Mealcheapen-street; and about 1795 Jane Morgan had a lease of premises, having St. Martin's parsonage house on the north and the post-office on the south, the latter being also in her occupation, probably as postmistress; yet about seven years previously the same Jane Morgan, postmistress, lived in High-street, near the corner of Cooken-street. 2. Nearly five acres of glebe belonging to the said parsonage of St. Martin's were sold for £649. 17s. to the trustees for the wardens of the poor of the city when the present workhouse was built, and were described as meadow or pasture, in the tenure of W. Dowding, hop merchant, having a piece of land belonging to W. Russell, in the occupation of Mrs. Hickman, widow, on the south; the turnpike from Worcester to Newtown and Crowle on the north; a piece of land belonging to W. Russell, in the occupation of H. Elcox, brazier, on the east; and a piece of land belonging to the Corporation, in the occupation of John Tymbs, printer, on the west. 3. Mr. Jas. Taylor, the Mayor, in 1648 9, lived in a house near the Blackfriars, Broad-street, described as worth £5 a year! It had 9½ yards frontage to the street, and went back 31½ yards. "It consisteth of a little cant-room at the entrance, a parler part wainscot, a cellar under it, a kitchen, a little buttery, a wash-house below, two chambers over ye parler, two other chambers, and two top-lofts over them." So modest were the requirements of Mayors in those days. 4. In 1733, the Corporation granted a lease to John Garway, merchant, of a tenement on the south side of the Guildhall, the vault

underneath the hall, also the kitchen belonging to the same when not required for Mayors' feasts, at a rental of £40 per annum, with the stipulation that the said Garway was to lodge the Judges at assize times, and "find them with sheets, table linen, and all other utensils, usually provided by Master Thomas Beetenson, late tenant of the said premises," and to be allowed £24 a year for the said care of the Judges. Were these tenants the keepers of the Guildhall Coffee-house? 5. In the 17th century the waterworks which supplied the city were erected on a small island then existing in the river near the present bridge. In 1689 the Corporation granted a lease of these works to John Hadley, of West Bromwich, conferring on him the necessary powers for breaking up the streets to lay pipes, "and to erect over the Cross, or Market-place, called the Grass Cross, a cistern of the capacity of 200 hogsheads of water, in order to the inhabitants being supplied with Severn water, also to use all iron, lead, stone, timber, and other materials of the same Cross or Market-place, and also all or any of the materials of the decayed waterworks as he may see fit for the building and setting up of the said cisterne at the Cross, so that there shall continue to be a convenient market-place there, in and under the said cisterne, and so as he do not meddle with, hurt, or cover the statue of the King thereby standing, or the basis, foundation, or materials thereof." It seems that in 1691 John Hopkins was associated with Hadley in this business, and on the petition of the inhabitants of the College precincts the Dean and Chapter gave leave to break up their soil, lay pipes, &c., Messrs. Hadley and Hopkins paying an acknowledgment of 2s. 6d. a-year. These items are interesting in many ways: first, as showing the humble requirements of the inhabitants in their cistern of 200 hogsheads only; next, the destruction of the old cross (which the local historians say was taken

down in 1578), and the use of the materials in raising the new cistern, the existence of which cistern at the Cross has not been noticed before by any historian or guide-book; thirdly, the revived loyalty towards the Sovereign, as shown by the affection for the statue —that of Charles I. or II., which remained in a niche of the reservoir at the Cross till it was removed to the Guildhall, probably on the completion of that building in 1723.

INNS AND TAVERNS.

The importance of these ancient establishments must not be estimated by the condition to which adverse legislation, the formation of railways, the broadcast sowing of beershops, and the greatly altered state of social habits, have reduced them. They were indeed high and mighty institutions in former ages. What would the Mayor and the "24 and 48" of the Corporation have done without the Bush or the Globe, the Magistrates without the Talbot, the wealthy clothiers of Cooken-street without their nightly carouse at the Wherry? Were not the travelling and trading interests, the pack-horse, the waggon, and coach, completely identified with and dependent on inns? and who so potent a man as Boniface—the high priest of all the moving world—the grand depository of news—the producer of beverage for the million, long before the Chinese dried herb found its way to the British isles? Sorry I am that the fragments of the history of this institution in Worcester are so scanty as to afford little beyond a dry list of names; but slight as this is, I deemed it worth preservation, in the hope that some friendly correspondents might be enabled to throw further light upon the ancient Vigornian victualling fraternity. The inn to which I am inclined to assign the first place both for antiquity and importance is the—

Talbot, Sidbury: mentioned as far back as any records extend, and existing to the present day without a changed name. In the 17th century the Magistrates regularly adjourned from the Guildhall to the Talbot for the more comfortable discharge of their functions, and amid the potations of sack and beer and the fumes of tobacco many a prisoner has there been sentenced to the pillory, the stocks, and the whipping-post. The large state-room used by the Magistrates is still in existence. Sometimes the Talbot in the Tything was selected for the same purpose, and at a later period the Star, the Crown, and the Hop-pole. More than 200 years ago, the Talbot in Sidbury contained stabling for 40 horses, and the ground on which it stood was 53 yards long by 21 yards wide, out of which was 75ft. by 40ft. belonging to the parsonage house of St. Michael's. Belonging to the inn was a long garden among many others close to the town wall at Sidbury, and an alley or lane led to these gardens—all within the wall—which gardens, about the year 1730, belonged to G. Smith, clothier, Catherine Stevens, widow, Rd. Parr, barber, Ed. Matthews, Jos. Chetle, saddler, John Snead, carpenter, and the Talbot garden, then held by the landlord, John Surman. In 1661, W. Walker held the Talbot; in 1751, H. Blunt; in 1782, Thomas Williams, who some 20 years afterwards sold it to Humphrey Hundley. Instead of the present College-street, which was not then in existence, a pathway led from the back of the Talbot to the College-grates, and so into High-street. By the aid of old documents we can not only repeople this ancient hostelry with Magistrates, church dignitaries, prisoners, landlords, and wealthy burghers, but the neighbours' houses right and left with tenants. In 1709 the five houses adjoining the Talbot were occupied by Joseph Hill, apothecary, Margery Lock, widow, John Leonard, smith, William Hopley, hatter, and Edward Hayden, pin-maker.

About half a century later all these had been swept away, and the same tenements sheltered John Inson (next to Talbot), patten maker, Rd. Charington, labourer, John Watton, blacksmith, P. Yeates, hatter, and G. Lewis, huckster (corner house of Lich-street). Only 30 years later (about 1780) all these too had disappeared, and their places were taken by Joseph Griffiths, huckster, Wm. Patten, breeches maker, John Green, cutler, Morgan, a turner, and Ch. Allen, last maker. I have mentioned these names and trades for another purpose, viz., to show that the ancient system of confining trades to special localities had been broken up two centuries ago at least; but qy. could that system have been at any time completely carried out with regard to all occupations? I think not.

Cardinal's Hat: (now the Coventry Arms, Friar-street); a famous house for more than three centuries at least. About 1544 it was in the tenure of James Bannister and Margery his wife; in 1554 by Roger Bury; and a tenement and garden only divided it from "the sign of the Catherine Wheel"—a rival establishment probably. In 1684 it was in the holding of Richard Rogers, a carrier; in 1733, one Barrett, and in 1769, Gaskell, also carriers, who no doubt found it to their account to cultivate the travelling interest. When this house changed its name I have not discovered.

Cock: "Ye Cocke, at ye Knowle-end, Sidbury," is mentioned more than three centuries ago, as belonging to Hugh Adams. The Knowle or Knoll's-end was the corner of Edgar-street, by Sidbury. The house is described in 1734 as "containing a hall, kitchen, buttery, parlour, cellar, brewhouse, yard or court, stable, four upper chambers, and top lofts over them, in the occupation of Mrs. Elizabeth Stevens, widow."

Three Cranes, Lich-street: in 1601, an inn so called was described as containing only three small rooms below and three over, with a cellar; belonging to John

Honnyett, butcher. In 1690, Anthony Hopkins kept it. About the same time there was also a house called Three Cranes in High-street; and there was a Three Pyes in Lich-street.

King's Head, Sidbury: the first description of this old inn is in 1609, as "a tenement in the parish of St. Peter, nere adjoynynge the gate of the said cittie called Sudburie gate, and hath been knowen and called by the name of the signe of the Bell, now in the occupation of Roger Folliott." At the restoration of Charles II., when so many inns assumed the sign of the King's Head, in memory of "the martyr," and in compliment to his reigning son, the Bell no doubt followed the example, for in 1678 it was described as being formerly the Bell, but then the King's Head, and in the tenure of Joan Hemming, at a rental of 20s. In 1778, Jos. Stephens, jun., held the premises; and in 1791, G. Gorle.

Cross Keys, Sidbury: subsequently the Hare and Hounds, and now converted into a boot and shoe factory by Mr. Willis, recently Mayor of Worcester, was a noted house more than two centuries ago. In 1690, was in the occupation of Harry Green, maltster; about 1719, by Allan Malpas, who then had for a neighbour, on the south side, Samuel Bryan, the printer of the *Worcester Postman*. Soon afterwards the Cross Keys appears to have been pulled down and built on a new site, but near the old one, as in 1744 in an old lease I find mentioned "a tenement and building lately erected on the ground where the Cross Keys formerly stood, now in the tenure or occupation of Thomas Bourn, apothecary, Thos. Gwinnell, cork-cutter, John Bissell, maltster, and Ed. Flavel, gingerbread marker; bounded on the north part by several tenements now in the occupation of H. Mason, blacksmith, and Ann Spead, widow, and on the south by a messuage in the occupa-

tion of Stephen Bryan,* printer, the premises extending on the east part to Sidbury-street." This was before the houses were removed to make way for the new College-street. In 1776, the Cross Keys, so removed, and described as "near the Deanery Garden," changed its name to the Horse and Groom, and 30 years afterwards to the Hare and Hounds.

Stag Inn : mentioned two centuries ago by M. Jorevin (*Antiq. Rep.* ii., 59) thus : "According to the custom of the country, the landlords sup with the strangers and passengers, and if they have daughters they are also of the company, to entertain the guests at the table with pleasant conceits, where they drink as much as the men ; but what is to me the most disgusting in all this is, that when one drinks the health of any person in company, the custom of the country does not permit you to drink more than half the cup, which is filled up, and presented to him or her whose health you have drunk." He also speaks of tobacco, which it seems the women smoked as well as the men.

Mitre : an inn so called in St. Peter's parish in 1664, and about the same time another Mitre in High-street. The latter, in 1732, belonged to Mrs. Dorothy Price, who had as neighbours, on one side B. Mence, a glover, and on the other Rd. Hill, gent. It seems however that two Mitres would not answer in one see, and so this inn was converted into several tenements and three stables in 1776.

Green Dragon : one inn of this name in Foregate-street, where Mr. Mayor Shewring and the Corporation comforted themselves while James 2nd was at Mass in the Catholic chapel. And this was a great house for the parish authorities on processioning days. There was also a Green Dragon in the Corn-market, kept by one

* Bryan was the first printer of the *Worcester Journal*, originally called the *Postman*. He died in 1748, after having printed that paper for nearly 40 years.

Suthal about 1720; and a third Green Dragon (these monsters were great favourites in the middle ages) in the house earlier known as the Earl's Post, at the corner of Cooken-street and High-street; and this last was described more than 200 years ago as "consisting of hall, kitchen, *five drinking rooms* below stairs, a dining room, three chambers above stairs, a garret, three chambers over the stable, two large cellars extending in length north and south, and other necessary rooms, with stables for about eight horses." In 1686 this inn was in the tenure of "Thos. Chetle, gent.," another very ancient name in Worcester.

Rose and Crown: on west-side of Foregate-street, in 1662, Thos. Mascall landlord, and John Daniel in 1679. It was in existence in 1778, and was on or near the site of the present residence of Mr. Barkley, dentist.

Red Lion: a very ancient house, which stood on the west side of the old bridge; about 150 years ago was leased to Ald. Cooksey, a name among the oldest in the Worcester records, and the landlady then was the good widow Chance. The Red Lion, Sidbury, in 1793, was occupied by W. Tomlins.

Angel: in St. John's, mentioned in 1670; the Angel in Sidbury was in 1734 occupied by Rd. Poole, in 1763 by Evan Jones, and in 1795 by Jos. Stephens; and the Angel Inn, Silver-street, in 1793, by J. Hay. An ancient hostelry called the Angel is said (on what authority I know not) to have originally given the name to Angel-street.

Hop-pole: in Foregate-street, first mentioned in 1742, Mr. G. Woodcock then being the landlord. About 1750, the inn was newly erected on a site where previously stood three tenements and a garden. Mercers are described as living in the houses north and south of the inn. Christopher Wilkins kept the Hop-pole in 1790, and T. Weaver in 1793. It was closed some 30 years ago.

Star and Garter : first mentioned in 1748, Mr. W. Dyer landlord. This inn seems to have been built where was previously a very old house belonging to Walter Wakeman. In 1767 Thos. Ashton, and in 1793 Mr. B. Fieldhouse occupied it.

Coach and Horses : formerly adjoined the east side of Edgar-tower, near St. Mary's Steps, in 1751 ; afterwards pulled down and part converted into a registry office, which in its turn met with the same fate, and the space is now enclosed with a wall. The Coach and Horses in the Tything appears in the Directory of 1793, and was then occupied by J. Clarke.

Black Boy, Lich-street : mentioned in 1744, and probably the same house as that still known by the name. J. Day occupied it in 1793.

Punch-bowl, College-street : first named in 1793, then in the occupation of T. H. Wheeler.

One of the earliest inns of which mention is made in this city is the hospice "de le trumpe" (Trumpet) "towards the corner of the Knoll" (Edgar-street) more than 400 years ago. In 1517 appears the following in the local records : "Abbot de Bordesley p' hospicio Angeli in alto vico Wig. p' ano., ij*s.* vi*d.*," which means "the Abbot of Bordesley, for the Angel Inn, High-street, Worcester, 2s. 6d. per annum "; and probably not much less ancient are some of the following : Swan, St. John's ; the Bush and the Globe (the two latter Corporation houses, when the Mayor, the "24" and the "48," so often combined official work with social pleasure) ; the Talbot at the Cross ; the George Inn in Powick-lane ; the Anthelopp (the Antelope was the house now occupied by Mr. Carter, saddler, Broad-street), the Rein Deer, the White Horse, the Lion, the Bull*, the Bear in Hylton-street, the Saracen's Head, the Trinity Inn, the Woolpack, the White Hart near

* Did Bull-entry derive its name from an inn so called at its entrance ?

the Trinity, the White Lion in the Corn-market, the Griffin, the Swan in High-street, the Fish, the Falcon, the Crown and Sceptre near the Foregate; the Ring of Bells, St. Peter's, 1703; Blackmoor's Head (qy. Saracen's Head), Foregate-street, 1715; the Atlas, in the Shambles, 1715; the Queen's Head, High-street, kept by Trustram in 1715; the Plough, in or near the Corn-market, about the same time (there was a Plough Inn at the house now occupied by Mr. Nicholls, broker, New-street, and which was newly built and converted into a private dwelling about 1791); the Salutation, St. John's, 1722; the Golden Fleece, near Blackfriars, Broad-street, in occupation of T. Stirrop, clothier, in 1684, and one Morgan in 1733; Crispin, St. John's, 1763; the King of Prussia, at the corner of Edgar-street and Frog-lane, occupied by Wm. Allen, glover, about 1780; the Seven Stars, Palace-yard, next house but one to the old gates of the Bishop's Palace, 1775; Adam and Eve, High-street, in the occupation of Thomas Gyles in 1778, and subsequently of Wm. Heming, whitesmith; and the Fish Inn, Friar-street, kept by John Scott, the Cathedral sexton, in 1790. One Cotterill kept an inn with the sign of the Vintorne (what was this?) in Broad-street, in 1696. There was also a Parrot Inn, Broad-street, kept by one Moore. The Bell Inn adjoined St. Martin's gate, old Corn-market, in 1764. Many of these houses were of course much older than the dates at which I have found mention of them. In the Directory for 1793 the following inns are named, with their landlords: Bear Inn, Turkey, W. Barnes; Bell, Broad-street, S. Care; Bridge Inn, T. Tipton; Bull's Head, T. Corbet; Crown, Wich-road, S. Barnes; City Arms, Church-street, J. Baylis; Crown and Anchor, J. Lightburn; Dog and Duck, J. Ross; Ewe and Lamb, Angel-street, P. Dance; Green Man, J. Higgins; George, Tything, S. Whitaker; Golden Lion, J. Doughty; Holly Bush, P.

Prosser; Hare and Hounds, B. Corbet; Horse and Jockey, Pump-street, W. Evans; Leopard, Eliz. Lowe; Old Greyhound, New-street, J. Summerfield; Pack-horse, J. Wilson; Peacock, Trinity, J. Bullock; Pheasant, New-street, J. Whitaker; Queen's Head, Tything, Mary Kettle; Rein Deer, B. Gardner; Shakspeare Tavern, R. Hurdman; Saracen's Head, R. Raxter; Swan, New-street, W. Weaver: Ship, Cooken-street, J. Birbeck; Unicorn, W. Perry; White Horse, J. Chesterton; Wheat Sheaf, Oxford-road, R. Tidmarsh. From a return of election expenses in Worcester in the year 1734, incurred at Sir H. Pakington and E. Lechmere, Esq.'s election, the payments to inns included the names of the Green Dragon, White Hart, Rein Deer, Red Lion, Fish, White Horse, Seven Stars, Golden Cross, Holly Bush, Unicorn, Bell and Unicorn, Dragon, Bellman, Starr, Royal Oak, Angel, Globe, Bear, Bird-in-Bush, Crown, and Crispin and Crispianus.

Taverns (anciently tabard or taberne) were sometimes mere cellars or vaults, over which tradesmen or shopkeepers plied other businesses. In the time of Elizabeth I find a lease of a tavern in Broad-street under the house of Wm. Spechley; in 1610, Nicholas Bagnoll, apothecary, lived over the said tavern; in 1622, the same tavern was described as having been "in the occupation of Wm. Sargant, mercer, but now of widow Bagnoll, apothecarie, under the house of the said widow;" in 1649, the widow had died, and Edward Elwins was the tenant of the tavern, and occupied one of two tenements which were then over the said cellar, the other tenement being occupied by Ambrose Barker, at 8s. rental (described as worth £1), and the part of the cellar under Cox's house was at that time "detained" from Elwins, although he appears to have had a lease of it. In 1692, one part of the tavern was under a tenement in the occupation of Wm. Gower, mercer,

and the other under the shop of John Machin, barber. Lastly, in 1742, George Grainger, a cabinet maker, and Jos. Carter, shoemaker, carried on their trades above the said tavern.

Further than this I have not pursued the history of taverns or inns. All inns were formerly protected from the competition of strangers, and it was not till a house had been formally accepted as "an auncient inn" that a freeman was permitted to sell ale. Unlicensed alehouses would nevertheless sometimes peep out, but their sign-boards were immediately cut down by the authorities. These signs stretching across the streets in great numbers, with the top stories and gables of the half-timbered houses themselves overhanging to a great extent, must have imparted to the streets a very different appearance to the bare, poverty-stricken, denuded, straight lines of buildings, with their oblong openings for windows, which prevail in the present day, though we have undoubtedly the advantage in point of ventilation, light, cleanliness, and health—more than a set-off, perhaps, against picturesque effect. Most of these inns were in their glory towards the close of the last century, when coteries, tots, or sets, as they were indifferently called, were all the fashion, and each quarter of the city had its favourite tavern, where men met in the evening, "cocked their Broseleys," and brewed their punch. So staunchly did the members of the same lot stick to their house that men were said to "grow old in the same chairs," the very seat which he occupied being reserved for each evening attendant. A writer in a Bristol paper, describing the old inns of that city, says that one of them (the "Stone Kitchen") was chiefly celebrated for its Saturday dinners, which consisted entirely of tripe and beefsteak, both cooked in the old flagged kitchen (where the company met), and cooked, so tradition says, to perfection; "and if any one wishes to give us a treat, when we dine with him, let him give us tripe and

beefsteak, properly dressed, which means cream with the first, and a pinbone cut for the second. The invariable beverage at the Saturday dinners of the Stone Kitchen was rum punch, rendered almost glutinous with guava jelly; so that the frequenters of the place were said to be obliged to get their wives to wet their lips next morning with a moist towel before they could open them, so stiffly were they glued together by the luscious preparation."

Coffee-houses became general in London two centuries ago, but did not prevail in the provinces till some years later. There seems to have been one attached to our Guildhall within living memory; and there was Tom's coffee-house in Foregate-street, nearly opposite the Star and Garter Hotel. This was on the premises now occupied by Ald. Firkins, glover, and was provided with an assembly-room and bowling-green. When the Independents ordained one of their ministers in 1778, Tom's coffee-house, then kept by a Mr. Yardley, was engaged to supply suppers for some of the company.

HISTORICAL ITEMS.

Although Worcester was early distinguished by the adjunct "*fidelis*," from the time of the Reformation down to the strong government of the third William the ruling powers of the State had frequent occasion to exercise a jealous vigilance over this city and county, owing to the numerous Roman Catholics resident here and their continued efforts to restore the abandoned errors and power of Rome, or at least to be a thorn in the flesh of all succeeding Protestant Governments. Towards the close of the reign of Henry 8th I find the following document on the records :—

"Instructions to the Sheriff and Justices of the countie of Worcester by Willyam Earle of Pembroke and Lord Herbert of Cardiff, Knt., president of the Council of the Marches. First, that with all your endeyvour and diligence you see and cause the King's Majesties comaundment and ordynance for

settinge forthe ye religion of Godd and thabrogacon of superstition be obediently received and followed as good grounde to beginn thereuppon any iuste governaunce and administration."

For this purpose there was to be no assembly or frequenting of alehouses permitted during Divine service; sessions were to be properly held, for the common tranquillity; watches duly kept, and search made in every alley of the city, to "look after vacaboundes, tellers of newes, bearers of tales, secret whisperers of the King's or Council's doings, blinde and falshe p'phecers, (prophesiers), and such naughty and p'nicious p'sons, and punish the same accordingly." The keys of the church doors were to be confided to "the hands of such honeste menn as alarums and ackeward ringinge of belles be avoyded"; and the justices were ordered to make such a distribution of themselves "that at the markets and faires in the countie ther may be one or two of you present according to your dwelling places."

Queen Mary met with but little of this latent hostility to her government till her sanguinary rule had evoked the abhorrence of all but the Romanist portion of her subjects. As an episode in the details of this chapter I may be permitted to produce the record of her Majesty's marriage with Philip of Spain, as penned by a contemporary hand in the Worcester Corporation book:—

"The effect of the articles of treatie concluded for maryage betweene ye Quene's Highness and the Prince's Grace of Spaine, at Westminster, 12th January, 1553. 1st. Agreed that the maryage shalbe solempnised and consumate betwene them in Inglande by the wordes of the tyme put as sone as conveynientlie may be. Item. It is agrede that the seyd maryage, notwithstandinge the Quene's Highness shal have thole dysposicion of all benefices, offices, landes, revenews, and frutes, of her Highnes realms and dominions. Item. It is agrede that the same benefices, lands, etc., shall be bestowed uppon such onlie as be naturallie borne in Inglande, and that matters of her Grace's realm shalbe treated in the same

tonge wherein of old they were wont. (The laws and privileges and customs were to be observed and maintained.) It is agrede that if ye Queene's Hyghness overlive the seyd Prince, she shal have during her life oute of Themperor's countries and dominions threscore thowsande pounds flemyshe for her dowry."

A detailed account of the royal wedding was sent to the bailiffs of Worcester in a letter from the Council of the Marches, then sitting at Bewdley, in which Philip's journey from Spain is described, and how graciously the Queen received him in the hall of her lodging—provided for her in the Bishop's palace at Winchester—the Prince's lodging being at the Dean's house. "After the salutation, with most lovinge words used on both partes, which were neverthelesse tempered with such wisdome and modestie as was mightilie to the joye and comfort of all the beholders," and so forth. The marriage took place in Winchester Cathedral on the feast of St. James, and "which we doute not but by God's helpe shal turne to the joye of all Englande." The writer also praised the Prince for "his courtesy, gentleness, and affection towards the Catholic religion." The result of all this courtesy and gentleness was soon known, and heard in the "groans of the Britons." Great jealousy of public opinion was shown, and here in Worcester a man very nearly came to grief for expressing his opinion strongly in favour of Bishop Hooper. One Thomas Freeman was examined before the bailiffs, and said that he went into the Cardinal's Hat (now the Coventry Arms), where one John Palmer "had asked him to come in and drinke a pott of beare, and so they two went in togeather, and then and there amongst other communication the seyd master Palmer declared to this examinant that as he heard say King Philip should be proclaymed King and that Queen Mary was departed; and Roger Bury, the good man of the Cardinal's Hat, confirmed this; adding that he himself said God forbid."

Early in the reign of Elizabeth appears a proclamation against carrying daggers and hand-guns, also a letter from "her Majesty's Council in the Marches of Wales, at Salop, to our trustie and well beloved the Sheriff and Justices of Peas of our countie of Worcester," enjoining them "to have speciall regarde to vacabunds and to such as do spred anie vaine p'phessyes (prophesies), sēditious tales, and untrue rumours," also "lewd and seditious tales forged and sped be certaine malicious persons touching the state of our person." And minute instructions were given, that as "the paines of death doth nothing at all by example diminish the multitude of misdemeanours perpetrated by light and vagrant persons, such as have travailled in idlenesse, withoute the feare of God or care for themselves," therefore it was ordered "to swear a jury which shalbe charged to enquire concerning unlawful games, vacabunds, and idle persons, typling howses, men returned from ye warres and inhabiting inns or victelling houses." In 1584 a letter was directed by Henry Sidney to the Sheriff of Worcestershire, the bailiffs of the city, and others, requesting them to subscribe their names to the association for the defence of her Majesty's life and avenging any attempts thereon, owing to pretended claims on the Crown. In response to this appears a list of 207 names appended to the document. The cause which led to this exhibition of loyalty will be found in Strype and other authors, as being on the one hand the unceasing machinations of the Papists both at home and abroad, and on the other the growing strength and disaffection of Puritanism.

In the 29th year of the reign of Elizabeth "her Highness gave to the citty of Worcester to be distributed to the poore of the saide cittie nine qrs. of pease and three of barley, the late goodes of Edwd. Abinton, latelie attaynted of high treason, and the same was distributed throughout everie parish." This Edward was

the younger brother of Thomas Abingdon, who was known to have involved himself with the party who laboured to relieve Mary Queen of Scots, which occasioned him to be sent to the Tower on suspicion of being concerned in their conspiracy. His (Thomas's) life was spared, as supposed, on account of his being godson of the Queen, and he retired to Hindlip (now the residence of Henry Allsopp, Esq., M.P.) near this city, but he afterwards fell under heavier displeasure for having concealed Garnet and Oldcorn, the gunpowder plot conspirators. Edward, whose goods at his death were distributed among the Worcester poor, was also engaged in the treason of Mary Queen of Scots, and being a person of turbulent spirit, was executed in London in 1586, "at which time he cast out threats and terrors of the blood that was ere long to be shed in England." This brings us to the great plot itself and the following documents in the Worcester records :—

"To my verry loveinge frends, Mr. Thos. Chetell, Mr. Ed. Mytton, bayliffes of the cittie of Worcester, and to Mr. John Fleete. After my very hartie comendations, my lords have received by this gentleman, Mr. Hall, a letter of the 9th Nov. from you, by which they perceive your care and diligence in advertising us at this time the state and occurrence of thinges in those parts, as well of the courses those traytors holde as of the number of the chiefe of them, for which we have little more to saie to you at this time but to return you his Majesties acceptation thereof, who doth very wel approve your care and dutie therein, and thus not dowtinge but when ther shalbe cause you will continew the like care and diligence we comit you to God's protection. From the Court at Whithall this eleventh of Nov. 1605.

"Your very loving frende

"Salisbury."

This letter was written six days after the date of the projected explosion, and while a feeble attempt was made by the other conspirators to assemble in arms in this county and Warwickshire, of which due information seems to have been afforded to the Government

by the authorities of this city. In 1608 appears the following :—

"After hartie commendations, &c., whereas, in the time of the late most wicked and traiterous conspiracie of Thos. Percie, Robt. Catesby, and the rest of his adherents, order was taken upon necessarie consideration that such arms and furnitures as Mr. John Talbott, of Grafton, then had in his house should be removed and putt into ye custodie of some meete person till further direction should be given in that behalfe, specially because the said Talbott being of neere alliance of some of the conspirators it was to be dowted lest they might have surprised the said arms (though against his will) to serve theyr traiterous purposes and desires, and according to the sayd order Sir Rd. Walsh, then High Sheriff of the countie of Worcester, and some other gentlemen authorised with him, did remove the said armes and furniture from Talbott's house and committed the same unto the keeping of Geo. Langford, of Worcester, gent., then Under Sheriff, in whose handes they yet remayne, the said armes being in a state of decaye according to Talbott's representation, and he is likelie to loose the valew of them, the Lords of the Privie Counsell direct the bailiffs of the cittie to take charge of them, to get them repayred by a skillful armourer, and if anie one is willing to buy them (provyded they are not recusants) to sell them for the benefitt of Mr. Talbott."

Heavily were the Papists in general visited for this sin of a few of their party. The remembrance of the plot was long kept up in Worcester, the Corporation providing fuel for the bonfires and drink for the spectators on the anniversary day, while people of high standing were cast into the common gaol for harbouring Catholic priests; churchwardens and constables were ordered once a year to present the names of all Catholics, their children and servants; they were forbidden to go more than five miles from home, were subjected to ruinous fines for not attending the parish churches, and to horrible imprisonment and præmunire if they refused to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy. Full details of these things, with the executions of Oldcorn and Father Wall at Red-hill, and the wondrous miracles that ensued, are described in my "Worcester

Sects;" besides which the Corporation records include "The Papists' Estates Book," which affords some information as to the local Catholic names. In 1715 the constables of Worcester were ordered to summon the following to appear before the Mayor and take the oath of allegiance: John Fraser, John Baynham, John Huntbath, Bassano Atkinson, Rd. Kettle, Edwd. Gilford, Jos. Harper, Henry Lindsay, Thos. Blackmore, sen., Francis Blackmore, sen., Chas. Hanford, Thos. Blackmore, jun., Hugh Buckstone, Rd. Leynall, Chas. Conisby, Henry Fairfax, John Hopcott, and Thos. Roberts, sen. These were summoned to take the oaths of William and Mary, and whoever refused were ordered to pay double land-tax, besides their share towards special taxes, such as were laid on in 1723, namely, £100,000 on the lands of Papists, over and above the double taxes, towards reimbursing the public charges occasioned by the conspiracy; so much was chargeable on every county and leviable by the commissioners of land-tax. By the 1st of Geo. I., Papists were to register their estates or forfeit them, and in 1717 I find a registration of the following:—Thos. Abbington, of Hindlip, one house in Foregate-street at the yearly rental of £6, a little tenement adjoining at 40s., and a clay-pit in St. Clement's, 19s.; Thos. Berkley, of Clytha (Mon.); Anthony Hornyhold, of Hanley Castle; Rd. Kettle, clothier, Worcester; Joseph Harper, victualler, Worcester; and George Attwood, late of Beverly (Bevere), in the parish of Claines, his property being in St. Nicholas' parish; one of his houses was let on lease to Wm. Cother, a baker, at £12, and a yearly bun or cake of the value of 5s. In the year 1723, Ann Trimnell, of Worcester, widow, registered her name; and in 1740, Frank Haines, and Thomas Attwood of All Saints, gent. Lastly, in 1767, Nathl. Chinn, flour merchant, and his wife, of Strensham, are described as having their estate in the Star and

Garter Hotel, Worcester, which hotel was then in possession of Thos. Ashton, by lease of 21 years, from 1752, the lease having been assigned over to him from Wm. Dyer, to whom it was originally granted at the yearly rental of £27. 10s.

There is another document connected with Elizabethan times, and the difficulties with which her Majesty had to contend, which document (still existing among the city records) has been heretofore alluded to by the local and other newspapers, as showing that the Queen borrowed money of the Worcester Corporation without repaying it. The promise to repay was clearly made, but there is no record of her Majesty having "met her liabilities." The sum in question may have been loyally sent up as a "benevolence" or gift, or it may have been repaid, and no account of that part of the transaction preserved to the present day. Here is the royal letter :—

"By the Quene."—Trustie and welbeloved we greete you well. The continuall greate chardges wch we have for the necessarie defence and prservacon of or Domonions and subiects are so notorions as neede not to be otherwise declared then may iustly be conceaved by all or loving subiects being but of comon understanding. And thearefore at this p'nte fynding cause of encrease and continuance of such chardges exceeding all other ordinarie means, and not mynding to presse o'r subjects wth anie p'nte free guyft of money but onlie to be supplied wth some reasonable porcon by way of loane for one yeares space, we have made speciall choise of o'r loving subjects as are knowne to be of habillitie amongst whome we accompt you one, and therefore we require you by these p'ntes to lend vs the some of two hundred poundes for the space of one yeare, and the same to paie unto Sir Henry Bromley Knight by vs appointed Collector thearcof, wch we p'mise to repaie to you or yor assignes at the end of one yeare in the Receipt of o'r Exchequer vppon the shewing of this privie seale subscribed by the said Collector testifying the receipt thearcof. Gyven under o'r privie seale at o'r Pallace of Westmr the fourth day of Aprill in the xxxixth yeare of o'r Raigne." "Tho. Kery.

"Receaved by me Sir Henry Bromley Knight the first day

of August 1597 of the Bayliffs of the Cyttie of „ „ „ „ „ upon this privie seale to the use of Her Ma'tie the somme of two hundred pounds, By mee

Henry Bromley."

Indorsed.

"To our Trustye and welbeloved the Baylifs Aldermen Cittizens and Chamb'laines of the Citie of Worcester."

"The some wthin meneoned you must paie into my hands the first daie of August 1597 at the hous of Walter Walker in yor said Citty of Worcester where myself, as I am comanded, will be readie to subscribe yor privie seale for the receipte therof."

"Worcetr CC. "Henry Bromley."

Among the traces and results of the civil wars I find in a rough book of Chamber orders that in 1656 it was ordered that the "key-head, Severn bridge, and other *breaches in the streets*, should be repaired, the town ditch cleansed and the water made passable at the charge of the city, and that the sum of four score pounds shalbe raised to effect the work." And in August, 1660, when Charles II. had returned to the throne, and the whole nation was frantic with joy at the restored monarchy, the following order appears :—

"Whereas there was an act made Aug. 28, 1646, that Ed. Soley, Aldn., was removed from the office and place of Common Councillor and Alderman of this city, for that the said Mr. Soley had been in actual arms against the Parliament and seducing others to do the like, it is by the Common Council now present ordered that the said order be from henceforth null and void, and the said Mr. Soley is forthwith restored to his place accordingly."

This was passed by a majority of 31 against 13. In the same book may be found the names of those of the Corporation who were ejected from the Council by order of the King, also the names of those reinstated who had been removed during the Commonwealth. An order for the restoration of the walls and gates likewise was made.

THE CORPORATION BELL OF ST. ANDREW'S.

In the first year of Queen Mary—"Item, that the cytie do owe to the parish of St. Andrew xvis. unpayed for the roodelofte." This was in the temporary revival of Romanism under Queen Mary: does the entry refer to a subscription by the corporate body towards the appointments of the aforesaid church? St. Andrew's church was in some degree connected with the Corporation from the fact of its bell being used for their purposes, as the following document testifies:—

"Examination of witnesses as to Saynt Andrew's bell. The 28th daye of Aprill in the sixt yere of the rayne of King Edward ye Sixt by the grace of God, &c., Edmund Tedyngton, of the age of 80 yeres or thereabout, being sworne and examined before John Wallesgrove and John Rowland, bailiffs of Worcester, and in the face of all the wholl Counsell at a common Counsell holden the daye and yere above seyd, sayth that he knew one Mr. Wheley who made the shorte——and battlement of St. Andrew's steple and bought the greate belle there of his costes and charges and did hang him upp in the steeple and gave the same bell to the parish for that intent to be knolled and ronge at all times when need should require as the Counsell's bell for the calling together of the Counsell of this cytie withoute denyall or contradiction of anie man, and so used as the Counsell's bell in Wheley's time hitherto and he never knew to the contrarie but the bell was given for that intente as the Counsell bell, and this he hath justified on his oathe."

It appeared that the Corporation also paid for the repair of the said bell, thus—

"The amendyng of Saynte Androes bell his clapper, xx*d*."

THE POST-HORSE.

There seems to have been no regular system of carrying letters through the country except by special messenger till about three centuries ago, when a foot post and a horse post were established generally in every parish; Corporations took care that post horses were always in readiness to go to the next stage, when

required, and to be brought back by the guide. Early in Elizabeth's reign there is an entry in the Worcester books "For dressing the post horse, xij*d.*;" and shortly afterwards, "Mr. Walsgrove, the high bailiff, bought a post horse of the cittie, which died soon after, and did hym no service, xiij*s.* iv*d.*" The next item we come upon is this:—"Our verie good Lord Edward Seymer is presentlie addressed into the realme of Yreland, there to be imployed in the Queen's Majesties service." Every one is therefore charged to see him not only furnished in all places *en route* with "eight hable and sufficiente post horses for himselfe and his companie, but also provided of a convenient vessell for his transportation at prices ordinary accustomed." Twopence a mile and sixpence to the guide was usually the price fixed. Hackney horses were settled at 1s. the first day and 8d. a day afterwards till redelivery. A proclamation was issued that no one should take up post-horses unless he was duly licensed. There is another entry, of Dr. Gifford going into Herefordshire on the Queen's business, and requiring three horses, one for himself, one for his servant, and one for the guide. In the early part of the 17th century the germ of the present system of postage was initiated, postmasters being appointed in the time of Charles I., who were to have horses ready for special messengers who rode through the whole of their journey "with horn and guide," or to forward on packets of letters to the next stage immediately on their arrival, and to enter the transaction in a book kept for the purpose. Mr. Roberts, in his "Southern Counties," says that as late as the middle of last century the London letters were forwarded from Lyme to Axminster upon a mule so remarkably obstinate that the beast that bore "news from all nations" was urged on with the greatest difficulty, having taken a decided predilection for the street in which the post-office was

situated. Strange that a penny post for the city of London should have been suggested so early as 1656, and that too by a reformer named Hill; but the porters, who feared a diminution of employment, tore down the advertisements of the project, and Dr. Titus Oates declaring that the new scheme was a plot of the Papists, it was postponed for 20 years. The coaching system in connection with postage, and lastly the rail, belong to the modern history of this great department.

CITY STATISTICS, CHARTER, &c.

In 1561 the sum of all the rents of Corporation property was £56. 8s. 3d. for the year (equal to £600 of the present money.) The rent-roll of the Corporation in the time of Elizabeth included the following among other items :—

"Of the tenement wherein Lytleton, the Town Clerk, dwelleth, which Mr. Adyes gave to the cittie, xiij*s.* iv*d.*

"Of the tenement at Severn bridge end where Humphrey Toms now dwelleth, for makinge of a scaffold upon the wall to draw his water, ij*s.*

"Of John Clare, for the ground under the town wall at Sidbury gate, xx*d.*

"The wardens of the mercers for their hall, xij*d.*

"Of Jas. Pytcher for the Cardynall Hatte (now the Coventry Arms) and other convciances through the town wall, iij*s.* viij*d.*"

In the year 1561—

"Paid to Mr. High Bayliffe for the losse of certaine money in the stamping thereof, vij*s.* vi*d.*"

Also—

"Received of Wm. Langley for money left or remaining of the sum of £10 which was delivered unto him and to John May for theyr charges in the sute to the Queen's Counsell for avoyding of the charge of coyning."

There was a mint in Worcester from Saxon times down to the 17th century, when the coinage was so tampered with, especially by tradesmen issuing their

tokens, that in 1670 the King suspended the charters of many towns for having usurped his prerogative, and the Worcester Corporation had to petition for pardon for "putting out farthings."

A curious affair in connection with the charter of the city had occurred before this. 1554-5 a letter was sent (but to whom does not appear on the record) "to the right worshipfull and our singular good master, our bounden duties to you and to your good ladye your bedfellow," setting forth that "being forced to answer to a quo warranto touching the liberties of our cytie, the charter has been conveyed away, and it is not to be had under seale, although we have a faire copie of it, so that we feare we are not so well armed in the said sute," and requesting "your lovinge favour to be extended in obtayning a new grante from her Majesty." A letter was sent to Mr. Yowle, the Member for the city, "to further the sute of the cittie to have its charter confirmed, but to be made a countie of itselfe, and to have mayors and shreves. We thinke ourselves verie weake to overcome so greate a burden and charge, and therefore have determined to have our Corporation to continew as it is, by the name of bailies, than otherwise to alter the same." (It was not till the renewal of the charter by James I. that mayors took the place of bailiffs in this city.) The accounts of Edward Bragdon of sums disbursed by him in London for obtaining the new grants and charter of Philip and Mary were as follows:—A sum of nearly £65 had been entrusted to him for managing this business, and Mr. Bragdon accordingly jots down very minutely every breakfast and dinner consumed during his absence from Worcester, charging 2s. a-day for his own services (this was also the charge made by Members of Parliament); he purchased four pairs of shoes, 4s. 8d.; "for washing of my shurts, 2s.; for my chamber during the time I was in London, 6s. 8d.; to the keeper of the

records in the tower for opening of the dore everie day for three days, £1 (worth more than £10 now—a decided swindle, but unavoidable); for a salte of John Mabb, which was given to my Lady Whit——to further our dutie, £4 (a piece of plate worth £40 now—an egregious bit of bribery, very usual at that time, even on the judicial bench); my own charges and his that rid with me into Hampshire for four dayes with our horses only, 15s.; for the walkinge of our horses at Court, and for a drinking there, 4d.; hire of my horse down, 6s. 8d."

The first and only gaol return of which there is any appearance on the books is one (probably in the time of Elizabeth, but without date) requesting the gaoler of Worcester to send to the Government a statement of the number of prisoners in his custody; for what crimes; for what causes their executions were respited; "and advertise us of what qualitie, yeres, and abilitie of bodie, everie prisoner is; and if anie of the condemned be putt in hope of pardon; what friends they have, or by whom the same is mediated for." In 1656 it was ordered "That the xx*li.* paid by Mr. Walton shall go towards the erecting of a common gaol at the Foregate;" also, "That a pumpt (pump) be made in the prison for the benefit of the prisoners." The Foregate gaol was the common prison in which criminals not belonging to the city were confined, while the citizen offenders had the privilege of being incarcerated beneath the Guildhall.

There is a curious case recorded of the Worcester school-master being "abroad." The King's receiver (probably *temp.* Ed. 6) of the county of Worcester writes from his house in Fleet-street that John Oliver, who had had granted to him by the King's letters patent £6 a year for teaching the Grammar School of Worcester, "besides a reasonable augmentation of his livinge, which the inhabitants of the cytie of their good

will doth give him, is not onlie gone from thence, and left the sayd towne voyd of a schoolmaster, to the greate hyndrance of the youth there, but alsoe sayth that hee will have and enjoye his sayd stipende: ordered that the sayd stipende be stayde till we are advertised by the inhabitants that he doth his dutye."

MISCELLANEOUS.

About 1580 is this entry—"Paid Thos. Brooke *vs.* iij*d.* which he laid oute by the apoyntmente of Mr. James and Mr. Dighton for keepinge of stone in his house in the plague time." (What is the meaning of this?)

1584—"Thos. Ridley, for riding to Evesham assizes."

About 1588—"Paid to Peter Humphrey vij*s.* for keeping a court at Whyston's at Mr. Baylies request for the ordering of my Lord Bishop's tenants of Claynes concerninge the enclosure of Prytchecroft."

Also at another period—"Ordered, that some perfect order be taken for the use of Prytchcroft."

1589—"Paid Edward the carpenter towards the charges for the seats in the college iij*li.* To Moseley the joyner for worke belonging to the same seats, xl*s.*"

One year later: "Paid sextons of the Cathedral Church for seats, vi*s.* viij*d.*"

And two years afterwards: "For the new *settles* for the xlviij (Corporation) in the College."

1598—"For charges of the picture of Sir Thos. White and other pictures." (This was the worthy Knight who left £100 a year to 24 cities and towns in succession, Worcester being one).

1599—"For makinge ye gome stoole" appears on the accounts for this year. It meant the ducking or cucking stool, though I have nowhere found the term "gome" or "gum" applied to this instrument of female punishment in other towns or places.

THE CITY RECORDS.

From the foregoing pages it will be seen that the interest which attaches to the civic records still remaining in our Guildhall is very great, and that they cast a strong and truthful light upon the manners, customs, and habits of our forefathers. It is with much pleasure I here notice the valuable catalogue published in 1874 by Mr. Woof, the late Town Clerk, of all the MSS. and printed books, with the trade and other tokens and money pieces in the Corporation collection, also an appendix of local records not in the custody of the Corporation. This little work is a proof of the author's affection for the study of antiquities and of his good-will and loyalty to the city which had so long enjoyed his valuable services; and it will, I trust, be the means of keeping together and preserving a collection of useful historical memorials of the city which may form the nucleus of much more extensive accumulations hereafter. Succeeding Town Clerks, too, may I express a hope, will be imbued with so much of Mr. Woof's enterprise and fostering spirit as to be induced to protect with care what has been so lovingly gathered together, to "take stock" occasionally to see that nothing is lost, and to embrace every opportunity of adding thereto whatever can be acquired respecting the history, the literature, and antiquities of the city.

It may not be considered out of place if at this point I quote some remarks by an excellent authority (Mr. Burtt, one of the keepers of the Public Records in London) when he exhibited to the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland the "Book of Ordinances" of the city of Worcester, which had been entrusted to him by Mr. Woof for the purpose of obtaining a translation of a curious transcript of charters which is bound up with the book. The

following extract from the comments of Mr. Burtt, as published in the Archæological Journal, will attest the great interest of the Worcester records, and the value of the work which was accomplished in their arrangement :—

"This interesting volume is lettered 'Ordinances, Edward IV.;' the contents are more comprehensive than its title. Besides the 'Ordinances' of the time of Edward IV. it contains similar regulations in the 12th Henry VII., and transcripts of charters of privileges granted to the city. The later set of 'Ordinances,' embodying in effect the earlier series, is printed in Green's History of Worcester, and a few extracts have there been printed from those of Edward IV., but without any comments or notes. I may therefore be justified in drawing attention to such of the principal enactments as appear to have general interest.

"These 'Ordinances' are said to have been made 'by the Kynges comaunedment, and by hole consent of the Citesens inhabitantes in the Cyte of Worcester, at their yeld marchaunt holden the Sonday in the feste of the Exaltacon of the Holy Crosse,' in the 12th year of Edward IV. (A.D. 1466—67); and they relate to the administration of the whole of the affairs of the city, especial regard being had to the corporate property. By the 3rd Ordinance there was to be provided 'a stronge comyn cofur, wt vj. keyes, to kepe yn ther tresour, oon key thereof to be delyvered to the High Baillye, and another to oon of the Aldermen, and the iijd. to the Chamb'leyn chosyn by the grete clothynge, and the other iij. keyes to be delivered oon to the Chamb'leyn by the comyns chosen, and ij other keyes to ij thriftye comyners trewe, sufficiant, and feithfull men.' By the 8th Ordinance the 'Acts' of the Guilds were to be engrossed on parchment, and put into a box called 'a Casket,' which was to be kept by the high bailiff. Ordinance 15 is as follows:—'Also that the bitters be redy with hur horses and bittes to bringe water unto every citizen when he ys required by eny man or child, when any parell of fuyre ys wtin the Cite, in peyne of lesynge of 40d., to the baill' half, and the other half to the comyn tresour.' The word 'bittes' is probably a corruption of 'buts,' for carrying water. Compare the ordinances 12 Hen. VII., regarding 'all persons having bytts.' While on the subject of precautions against fire—always a most serious matter in mediæval times—I will bring together the other regulations which deal with it. At No. 25 we find 'Also that ther be v.

fuyre hokes, to drawe at evey thynge wher paryle of fuyre ys in eny parte of the Cite, and they to be sette in iij. parties of the Cite, and grete helpe and nede be that God defende, and the same hokes to be made by the Chamberleyns.' No. 26 : 'Also that no chymneys of tymber be suffred, ne thacchyd houses wtyn the Cyte, but that the owners do hem awey, and make them chymneys of stone or bryke by Mydsomer day next comynge, and tyle the thacched houses by the seid day, in peyne of lesynge of a noble, and after that day, every half yere a noble, tyll it be done, to be payde to the comyn tresour.'

"The 'Assize' or Ordinance of the City of London, in reference to disputes arising out of the building of stone houses instead of wood, was passed in the year 1189. By that assize the aldermen were directed to have hooks and cords for pulling down houses endangered by fire. It is notorious, however, that wooden houses thatched with reeds and rushes were common for a period long subsequent in London, and in the Worcester Ordinances we have evidence of the general construction of houses there at the fifteenth century.

"By another Ordinance it was to be 'a substanciall rule that v. pagentes amonge the craftes be holden yerly,' and 'more certenly kept then they have be bifore this tyme." The 78th Ordinance is also in support of the pageants of the crafts of the city. It is too long for quotation, and is full of directions for the encouragement and extension of these shows of the citizens.

"The Council of the city of Worcester appears to have been governed by two bodies, called respectively 'the Twenty-four' and 'the Forty-eight,' and they are directed by these Ordinances to be ready to attend the Council House 'as often as they shall here the grete bell of the Parishe of Seint Andrewe to be knolled by many ad divers tymes, and after that rongen out for the same.' The same Ordinance directs—'Also the Bow-bell accustomed in the seid Cite to be rongen at ix. of the bell, to be contynewed yerly for grete ease of the said Cite ; the payrish clerk there to have his fees accustomed therefore.' I am enabled to say that there are payments annually 'for ringing Day-bell and Bow-bell' in the Corporation accounts from a very early date. It appears to have been an almost immemorial custom. The 'Day-bell' is said to have been the fourth bell of St. Helen's Church, and to have been rung for a quarter of an hour every morning at four o'clock. The ringing of the 'Day-bell' ceased about 1750. The 'Bow-bell' is doubtless the same as the Curfew, and at the present time is rung at eight o'clock instead of nine, as at the time of the Ordinances. There seems to be no local

explanation of the name 'Bow-bell,' but Mr. Woof suggests a very probable one, viz., that as the Curfew-bell of London was rung at Bow Church, the name of that church may have been adopted in other places, and applied to the bell. In the 'Liber Albus,' edited by Mr. Riley for the series of Chronicles and Memorials published under direction of the Master of the Rolls, we find, amongst the Ordinances of the City of London, 'Qe nul voise wakeraunt apres Curfeu soné at Bowe;' also that no 'Braceour' should keep 'huis overt apres Curfeu soné at Bowe.'

"Ordinance 29 is directed against persons using 'eny wyndows, dorres, or holes of new made in the yeld hall, wher thorough eny persons may se, here, or have knowleth what ys done in the seid halle.'

"I will now conclude my remarks, as the remainder relates entirely to regulations for the trade and other affairs of the city, interesting only in a local sense. At the end of the second set of 'Ordinances' is an account of fees, followed by transcripts of charters to the city, The first of these charters is by Edgar, dated Dec. 28, A.D. 964. It is preceded by a brief narrative respecting the foundation of the city by Wolfarius, King of the Mercians, A.D. 679, and by reference to a charter of King Offa granting the hundred of Oswaldslowe to the Bishop of Worcester and his family, as the secular clerks were called. The confirmation of the grant is the subject of the charter of Edgar, together with the reform of the Cathedral establishment which had been made at the instigation of Bishop Oswald. Upon the date of this transaction some question exists, and doubt has also been thrown upon this charter of Edgar by Green, the local historian, who says that he is supported by Burnett, It is printed in Dugdale's Monasticon (Caley's ed.) from the Charter Roll 9 Edward III., which records a confirmation by that sovereign of a previous confirmation by Edward II. of Edgar's charter. Dugdale's second reference to the Charter Roll 4 Edward IV. is not correct, but as the Inspeximus by Edward III. gives a complete recital of the charter I have not attempted to trace the second reference. Edgar's charter is also printed in Spelman's 'Concilia' and Kemble's 'Codex Diplomaticus,' but apparently from some other copy, as a page of that in the MS. sent by Mr. Woof is omitted. It does not appear that the Inspeximus of Edward III. or the copy in the Book of Ordinances was known to Green. There are many verbal variations between the copy in the Book of Ordinances and that on the Charter Roll, and it is evident that the transcriber of the former was not master of the MS.

from which he copied, or that it was very corrupt. The other charters are those of Henry II., of which I believe that the original no longer exists, of Richard I., and Henry III."

TRADING AND OTHER GUILDS.

I am now enabled to present a few local illustrations of those remarkable trading combinations among our forefathers which, having their origin in a remote period of our history, continued greatly to influence the national character and institutions even down to our own times.

Man, as a gregarious animal, cannot exist without his club. In barbarous periods, when the laws were weak, association was absolutely necessary for the purpose of self-protection; and although civilization has almost set aside this motive for combination, we still find the same principle in active existence in many branches of our social system. The origin of trading companies is lost in the mist of antiquity. The earliest allusion to them is probably that which Plutarch tells us of Numa, the king and lawgiver of Rome: "But among all his political institutions (says the historian) that which is most admired is his distribution of the people into companies, according to their several arts and professions, as of musicians, goldsmiths, masons, dyers, shoemakers, tanners, braziers, and potters; and so of other artificers, who were all reduced into companies, to each of which were appointed their respective halls, courts, and ceremonies of religion, proper to their several societies." And no doubt this was a highly politic arrangement, such a distribution being the means of mixing and uniting the discordant elements of which ancient Roman society was composed; though Plutarch does not tell us that the idea of trading companies was a new one. Our Teutonic fathers, at their festivals and drinking bouts, filled their horns to the honour of their gods and to those heroes who had fallen bravely in

battle, at the same time pledging themselves to defend and protect each other. The mediæval guilds and modern clubs, if not directly descended from these ancient practices, are no doubt the product of the same idiosyncracy of mind which, first perceiving that union was strength, acquired potency in drink, in friendship, in mutual protection, in influence on society, in religion, in charity, and in trading purposes, by the formation of brotherhoods, bandships, or guilds. As society slowly emerged from its semi-barbarous condition, the objects for which these fraternities were banded together became more comprehensive. The doctrine of a purgatorial state of existence led to the endowment of chantries and priests, to ensure perpetual prayer for the dead; but these extensive endowments becoming at length obnoxious to the temporal interests of the sovereign, great difficulties and expenses were thrown in the way of procuring licences to put lands in mortmain for such purpose, and arrangements were frequently made with religious houses to secure masses for deceased persons. Only the wealthy, however, could command such a provision as this: the great body of the people had not sufficient means of securing such religious observances for the repose of their souls, and from hence arose the fraternities or guilds of the religious kind. These became very general, not only in cities and towns, but scarcely a village was without one. Sometimes they were in connection with and sometimes independent of trading companies. Sharon Turner tells us that in Saxon times there was a guild at Exeter, the members of which paid a penny at Easter and the same amount at the death of any one of their brethren, and this was called "the soul's scot," the amount being paid to the clergy of the cathedral to ensure the performance of the necessary rites at death and burial. Another guild was "for God's love and their souls' need," to see that masses for the dead were

duly performed; also to avenge the death of any member who was killed; or if one of their number slew another, the rest of the brethren subscribed to pay what they called "the shot" for him—with this reservation, that if it was a Welshman who was slain, only *half* the usual amount was to be paid! This depreciation of Welshmen was undoubtedly occasioned by a vivid recollection of the border wars carried on between the two nations—just as at Durham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, and other places in the north, subject to the frequent raids of Scotchmen, no man from north of the Tweed was permitted to sell articles in their towns, nor was any trading company allowed to take a Scotch boy apprentice; and yet it has been the opinion of Dr. Johnson and others that much might be made of a Scotchman if caught young. The same feeling against Scotchmen prevailed as far south as Worcester, where two centuries ago there was a great outcry as to their selling cloth at our fairs, and taking the opportunity of committing what was called "pettite larceny" here. The Worcester constables were therefore empowered to take the names and addresses of all such Scotchmen—a measure that would be scarcely comprehensive enough for the thieves and vagrants of the 19th century!

The clergy, too, had guilds among themselves, for religious and other purposes. At Ludlow there existed a remarkable fraternity—namely, a Guild of Palmers, or pilgrims, who undertook a journey to the Holy Land, and afterwards bore palm-branches as an emblem or trophy of having performed that distant and perilous voyage. I believe the Merchant Tailors' Company of London annually elected a pilgrim, whose duty it was to "travel" for them; and it is possible that the Ludlow guild may have combined trading pursuits with their pilgrimages, but there is no record which says so. That guild was incorporated in 1284, but may have existed at an earlier period. It possessed considerable

property in Ludlow, and among its objects were to assist the religious services of the church and to provide education for the children of the townsmen. The guild was dissolved at the Reformation, but their school, being remodelled, is still in existence, and may thus be considered one of the most ancient grammar schools in England. In Worcester there was a Trinity Guild, founded by Richard Norton, *temp.* Ed. III., being a brotherhood of three priests, to sing mass perpetually for the soul of the founder, and to help the parson and curate of the parish (St. Nicholas) in time of need, "because it doth abound of houseling people." At the Dissolution, the Trinity Hall passed through various hands till it became the property of the Clothiers' Company.

In mercantile towns and seaports (as Sharon Turner informs us) there were also guilds or fraternities of men constituted for the purpose of carrying on more successful enterprises in commerce, even in Saxon times, as appears by Domesday mentioning the guildhall of the burghers of Dover. Some however have asserted that trade guilds were unknown to the Saxons, though they are allowed to have had ecclesiastical guilds; frith guilds, originating in frank-pledge; the knighten guild, composed of eminent knights or soldiers, which was dissolved in 1115; and the easterling guild, composed of Hanseatic merchants, called "the steelyard merchants." On the whole, these guilds seem to have been friendly associations for mutual aid and contribution to meet the pecuniary exigencies perpetually arising from burials, legal exactions, and penal mulcts, as well as for religious, charitable, and trading objects. That much good fellowship was connected with them can be doubted by no one, their rules and fines implying that the materials of conviviality were not forgotten.

In my restricted limits I cannot attempt to follow the changes which took place in these protective guilds

till they became trading companies, nor even to glance at all the phases of their character and results. It should however be stated that although these confraternities undoubtedly had their good uses, they were often productive of great mischief. After the Conquest they were called bandships, and were frequently under the patronage of some great man; they had public badges, by which each band or confederacy was distinguished, and at length grew to such a pass as to support each other in all quarrels, robberies, murders, and other outrages, so that a special Act of Parliament was required to remedy this state of things in the time of Richard II. Previous to that time the guilds had attained to considerable political and municipal importance, for when a representative Parliament was obtained, with also local government and trading privileges, we find that the companies began at the latter end of the reign of Edward III. (at which time they were generally incorporated, although licensed or chartered at earlier periods more or less), to choose certain persons to be a council to advise with the bailiff and aldermen; and in thus originating civic incorporations they were the means of superseding the Saxon folc-mote, or assemblage of the whole people in the common hall to discuss municipal matters—a practice certainly not likely to be attended with much advantage or convenience. One of the boasts of France is that her cooks have 685 ways of cooking eggs; and it might have been said of our Saxon forefathers that their mode of "cooking" public business was equally multifarious, for no doubt each sturdy member of the folc-mote maintained his own views of self-government defiantly against all comers.

At first the guilds were quite distinct from the municipal government; but consisting as they did in a great degree of the principal citizens, banded together in a system of rigid exclusiveness, which nothing could penetrate, they became necessarily mixed up with the

chief governing power, and increasing in influence, under favour of the Crown, they claimed by degrees the right of interfering in municipal elections. In the case of London this led to a long series of disputes and difficulties, eventually calling for the interposition of the Legislature; and the statute of Geo. I., c. 18, was passed for the purpose of regulating the elections. The pernicious effects of the old system of electioneering, by which, for venal purposes, the constituencies were frequently enlarged by the creation of freemen who possessed no interest whatever in the place of election, beyond that of their parents having been freemen there, enrolled of some guild or company, or serving apprenticeship to a freeman, or marrying a freeman's daughter, are facts so well known as to require but a passing remark. A man has been known to travel more than 100 miles to a city which he never saw before or since, to record his vote, in virtue of his being the son of a freeman of its guild of smiths—a nominal enrolment, for neither his father nor himself was ever either a black or whitesmith. But these abuses were inseparable from the system; and as Sydney Smith once observed, you might as well have attempted to poultice off the lumps of a camel's back as to cure mankind of these little corruptions.

Thus these ancient fraternities, uniting at first the principal features of the sick and burial clubs of modern days with those of small and feeble joint-stock trading companies, gradually acquired power enough to possess the municipal rule, and with it the Parliamentary franchise, of most of the old cities and boroughs of England, and so became monopolies, dangerous to the liberties of the people, and oppressively restrictive on the very trades they were formed to protect. In their greatest prosperity they enrolled the whole trading community of a place: each company had its distinct common hall, made bye-laws for the

regulation of its particular trade, and possessed its common property; while the rights of the individuals composing them, as members of the great general community, remained the same. These guilds had so many privileges that for a tradesman not to be a member of one of them was virtually to debar himself from the practice of his own business or be continually fined. It became a law of each city that none but acknowledged members of such societies should be allowed to trade within its walls, and that all others should be amerced by the guild for permission to labour. The freemen themselves were sworn to dwell in the city, or, if absent for a year, to be disfranchised and their names posted up in the Tolsey. In addition to the ordinary modes of acquiring freedom, public men and successful commanders were often presented with it as a mark of respect. In the year 1705, Thomas White was admitted a freeman of Worcester for making a handsome effigy of the Queen, "to the Mayor's liking," and which is no doubt the same figure that still adorns the front of our Guildhall. In the 9th year of Elizabeth, Thomas Anthonye was admitted on account of his being an expert workman as a smith, of which craft the city was then in want; and in 1655, Nathaniel Treherne, merchant, was admitted for having promised to bestow upon the city a silver sword, to be borne before the Mayor; and the scribe adds that "it appeared to be a very considerable sword."

I have already alluded to the hall of the Holy Trinity in this city as having fallen into the hands of the Clothiers' Company some time after the dissolution of religious houses. The several chambers in that hall appear to have been let to other guilds by the Clothiers, while the kitchen was open to each and every company for the purpose of cooking. The hall was likewise occasionally used by the players, and to hold assizes

and sessions. I regret to say there is no view or drawing of this Trinity Hall in existence. It was sold by the Clothiers in 1796, and only some very small relics of the old edifice now remain, being in the upholstering premises of Mrs. George, St. Swithin-street. An original door in one room, as I saw it a few years ago, bore faint traces of the words "Cordwainers' Hall" painted on it. The ceiling was divided into compartments by beams, rudely moulded at the edges; the floor remained firm and good, but the walls and the old door were covered with modern paper. The principal hall was a lofty and spacious room, with a dais at one end, having seats, and a canopy over the central seat. The carvings taken from the Trinity Hall, at the time of its being dismantled, were sold for £180 to some parties in London, the builder having been permitted to take them away as lumber.

Here then, in this old hall, was the principal habitat of the Worcester guilds, and now let me enumerate them :—1. The Weavers, Walkers, and Clothiers' Company, which was in existence in the time of Henry VI., and probably much earlier, and is the only guild *now* remaining incorporated of all the companies—the last relic of a system departed for ever. This company had charters from Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, by the latter of which (1590) it is still governed, but I need scarcely remark that its continuance to the present time is merely as a trusteeship for the administration of charitable funds, and is in no way connected with trading pursuits. 2nd. The Cordwainers, incorporated in 1504; but, as before stated, most of these companies probably existed long before their recorded embodiment. 3rd. The Barbers and Tallow Chandlers, both of which no doubt existed as distinct fellowships from very early times, but I find they were incorporated as one body in 1677, and afterwards they were joined by the Bowstring

Makers. The custom was to unite several trades, of which there were but few members, into one guild, for convenience sake and to reduce their common charges. For instance—4th. The Glovers, Pursers, Pouch-makers, and Poynters, were incorporated in 1497, and (as Green says) were united with the Tanners, Saddlers, and Pewterers, in 1664. But I have found in the company's documents that in 1561 it was denominated Glovers, Poche-makers, and Pursers; and in 1661, Glovers, Whittawers, Tanners, Pouch-makers, Pursers, Saddlers, Pewterers, Braisiers, and Plummers; while in 1696 and 1737 mention is made only of Glovers, Tanners, Pewterers, and Saddlers. 5th. The Bakers dated their incorporation in 1528. 6th. The Mercers, Grocers, Haberdashers, and Upholsterers, in 1545, and united with the Apothecaries in 1663. 7th. Tailors and Drapers in 1551. These were united with Hosiers, Skinners, Furriers, and Tawyers, and subsequently took the high sounding name of Merchant Tailors' Company. 8th. Ironmongers, incorporated in 1598. 9th. Carpenters and Joiners, 1661. 10th. Bricklayers, 1713. 11th. Masons, 1739. 12th. Coopers, 1726. 13th. Butchers, in 1604. Parish clerks and fishermen were also fraternities by prescription.

Of all these companies the Clothiers were the most considerable, it being an observation of Leland that "the wealthe of the towne of Worcester standeth most by draperinge, and no towne in England at this present tyme maketh so many cloaths yearly as this town doth." The decay of this trade is said to have been owing to the roguery of the manufacturers in stretching their cloths, but centuries before that period the clothing trade of the kingdom was noted for trickery. Roger of Wendover tells us that in 1198 "it was decreed that woollen cloths in all parts of the kingdom should be two ells wide within the borders,

and as good in the middle as they were at the sides. It was moreover decreed that no trader should hang up before his shop red or black cloths or anything else by which *the sight of the purchasers should be deceived* in choosing a good cloth." Such shameful conduct as this would have justified the application to our Clothiers of the 12th century of the satire once uttered by Peter the Great upon the Russians, that monarch observing that he had refused to admit the Jews into his dominions only from his conviction that they would be certainly cheated by his countrymen. The trading regulations of the Clothiers, as of all the other companies, were very minute and stringent : wool could only be bought at a certain time and place, and that only by men, unless it was a widow in business ; searchers were appointed to inspect every piece of cloth made ; no person was to trade who had not gone through his seven years' apprenticeship ; and woe to the "foreigner" (*i.e.*, not a native) who introduced himself to a shop without leave and heavy penalty.

The history of as many of the Worcester trading companies as have preserved their records for inspection to the present day has already been published in "Worcester in Olden Times," but one which had escaped notice has since come to light ; it is that of the "Joiners and Carpenters' Guild." Two books belonging to this company have been found among the records of the Corporation. One book is of vellum, in excellent preservation. It first contains orders and bye-laws made at the company's "convention" at the house of Widow Savage, May 2, 1692, under and by virtue of a charter of William and Mary (it makes no allusion to a previous charter of Charles II., though it states that the company is an ancient one.) In these bye-laws special provision is made that the masters, wardens, and assistants, shall be diligent and careful that no freeman of the said company should "make or doe any deceitful, untrue,

or unlawful work ;" also against "selling apprentices" to other masters ; also against "inveagleing or drawing away any journeyman or other servant being hired or working with any other freeman of the said company." Every member convicted of felony to be "disfranchised and excluded out of the fellowship of the said company." If any freeman of the company should buy any timber or boards that had come to the city for sale, it was lawful for every freeman of the company to have a share therein, not exceeding one-third part thereof, upon request, and paying ready money for ye same. Whosoever refused to share such timber forfeited 20s. These laws were confirmed and signed at the assizes, September, 1723, by the judges, Ja. Montagu, and Jeff. Gilbert. Then follow other bye-laws made on 29th Dec., 1790, at the house of John Bullock, in the parish of St. Nicholas, at a time when there was evidently a difficulty in the way of preserving the exclusiveness of the craft, and preventing the intrusion of "foreigners"—that is, workmen who had not obtained their freedom of the company, for special provision is made against such persons if found keeping "inward shops and rooms"—thus proving that a great deal of this sly work preceded the total abolition of trading companies and the admission of free trade for all. These laws were confirmed and signed by Lord Chief Justice Kenyon and Sir N. G. Knight, at the assizes in July, 1793. A list of names of freemen of the company at that time follows. The book also contains a list of names in the company in 1730, when Caleb Meredith was high master. Lastly an index. The other book is of paper, and contains a copy of the charter of William and Mary, in which Timothy Biggs was appointed the first high master; John Snead and John Morris wardens ; and the following were assistants : Tim. Biggs, Henry Baldwin, John Snead, John Morris, Richard Manderfield, Rice Preece, Richard Jackson, John Rea. The high master

was to take the oath of office before the mayor, while the wardens and assistants took their oath before the high master. This book likewise contains copies of the bye-laws made at Widow Savage's and Bullock's, as in the vellum book. The charter of this company, with royal seal, was given to Mr. Woof by Mr. F. James, nephew of the last surviving member of the guild, and is now in the possession of the Corporation.

The Cordwainers (as before stated) were incorporated in 1504, but their ordinances seem to have been established or confirmed in the reign of Elizabeth (July 15, 1558), and their book is thus prefaced :—"The booke of ordinances to be observed bi the fellowship of cordewiners or shewmakers, copied oute bie Thomas Grinsill the 14th daye of March, 1576, in the tyme of John Brodshow, highe master, Thomas Tollie and Richard Con, wardens of the sayd feloship." Four times a year the "byddell" had to "summon and admonish all the masters to the hall, to trial of all causes touching the commonwealth of the said fellowship." An oath was taken on admission to the craft "to be loyal to the Queen, her heirs, and successors, obedient to the masters and wardens, and to keep all secrets duly." Masters were not allowed to have work done by candlelight on Saturdays after four o'clock, nor to keep more than one shop, nor to make goods in the country or in any house but their own; wardens were empowered to inspect their leather to see that it was lawfully tanned and "for the profit of the wearer." If any master or warden was found guilty of favour, affection, partiality, or not carrying out the rules, on conviction before the bailiffs and aldermen he was to forfeit 6*s.* 8*d.* An appeal was allowed to justices of assize. It seems that the master and wardens possessed the power of inflicting imprisonment as well as fines, the latter being spent on the poor belonging to the craft and on the ordinary expenses of the company. In the year 1688 it was

agreed that "not more than 13*s.* 4*d.* should be spent at any quarterly meeting, and the stewards not to spend more than 6*s.* 8*d.* at the vewing of ye meate at ye stewards feast." This "vewing of the meat" meant probably the purveying of the viands for the feast. Among the Corporation of the city it was customary for the Mayor and Aldermen to spend considerable sums in performing this office, until an order to the contrary was made by the body. Some of the Cordwainers' rules were directed against the use of "malicious words or taunts" at the meetings, and the members of the craft were ordered to refrain from calling each other "villain or knave" on pain of being fined 3*s.* 4*d.* Regulations were likewise made to prevent lawsuits and other litigious quarrels, to the following effect: "Whereas divers discords, contrivances, and debates, before this time have been moved, stirred, and depending between the occupation or society of shewmakers, corvisers, or cordears, within this cytie, on the one partie, and certain persons using and occupying the trade or practice of coblinge or clowtinge of showes or bootes, commonly called coblers, for the appeasinge and pacifienge of which discord and debates, we, John Rolland *alias* Steynor, and Thomas Heywood, bailiffs, called both partyes before them, and adjudicated, admyttinge Thomas Hill, William Byrde, William Usherwood, Gryffyth Ap John, David Gough, and John Parker, to exercise coblinge within the said cytie, and none other; and that none shall be admytted to such craft here in future but by the admyssion of the bailiffs and aldermen." An apprentice's indenture—date 1679—between George Kemmtt and Henry Hope, specifies that at the end of the term of seven years the master was to give the youth two suits of apparel—"one for holy daies, and another for working daies." The roll of members admitted from the year 1741 to the winding up of the fraternity is signed by all the masters during that

period, and contains directions for the body to meet *five* times in the year at the common hall, the fine for non-attendance being twelve-pence; all penalties could be levied by distress. A special stipulation was also made (1741) that the members should "not go by any other clock than St. Swithin's, *if going*; but if otherwise, by St. Martin's, if going." Also to employ no workman without going to his previous master for a character, in default of which a fine of 6*s.* 8*d.* was to be paid.

Butchers were restricted in the sphere of their avocations to two places—from the Guildhall door to St. Helen's church, and from St. Nicholas' churchyard to the Cross. Indeed, as already shown, it was the custom to locate almost every trade or profession in some one street or place, as may be still seen indicated in old maps by the names Cheese-cheaping, Meal-cheapen, Bakers-street, Glovers-street, Needlers-street, Huxter-street, Goosethrottle-lane, &c., all of which have changed their denominations through so-called "refinement" and the rage for change in the present age. Foreign—*i. e.* country butchers—were admitted into the city by sufferance, and then remained only till a certain hour. Prices were fixed on tallow and other commodities, which were not to be conveyed out of the city on pain of severe penalties. The severity dealt out to butchers seems to have been sanctioned by the experience not only of the English people but also of our Spanish neighbours, if we recollect the advice given by the immortal Don Quixote to his everliving Sancho: "Be a terror to the butchers (says he), that they may be fair in their weights; and keep hucksters and fraudulent dealers in awe for the same reason." It is a curious fact that butchers and shoemakers who had served the office of bailiff (or mayor) were not permitted ever after to carry on their trades in their own name in Worcester. This restriction does not seem to have been applied to any other trade.

Glovers were prohibited from making "gloves, half-gloves, or cut fingered gloves, of lynnen, cloth, or fustian"—the object being, of course, to encourage the leather trade. Sheepskins, likewise, were not to be used for saddles and shoes, probably on account of their scarcity. Curriers were ordered to keep within doors and not carry on their craft in the streets. The stewards of the Bakers' craft received from the Corporation every Saturday the assize and weight of bread for the following week, regulated according to the price of corn. The Mayor and Aldermen condescended at intervals to weigh bread, butter, and other articles, at the Tolsey, and ran up a pretty bill every now and then for ale, meat, and tobacco, consumed in the performance of their important functions. Not only was the price of bread fixed by the ruling powers, but in 1641 it was constituted an offence for the Worcester bakers to make "spiced bread or short cakes," inasmuch as it "enhaunced the price of butter." Again, no brewing was to be undertaken in the city until the Corporation tasters—described as "sadde and discreet persons"—had sat in judgment on a sample of it, and "disposed it to sale after the goodness of it." In the reign of Edward VI. the best ale was sold at one penny per gallon, and "the other sorte" at three gallons for a penny. In the time of Charles I. women attended public-houses with the men, and drank and smoked as well as they did. With regard to the Tailors' craft, no master was permitted to finish work that another master had cut out, and if any one should spoil a garment or purloin the cloth the stewards were to hold a kind of inquest over the mutilated remains of the material, and award such satisfaction as they might deem equivalent to the damage. Fish were not to be hawked about, but sold only at "the King's boards" in Fish-street (where, on one of the barge-boards of the roof of an ancient house

may still be seen the carving of a salmon.) When any fish were brought to the city to be sold, the Aldermen took with them two fishmongers, who were duly sworn to "see that all such vitells be able and sweete for man's body," with the alternative of heavy penalties, but the "corrupt and defectyve vittell" was given to prisoners and poor men!

While on the subject of restrictions, I have somewhere read that the Bishop of Lincoln in 1422 restrained the barbers of that city from shaving the parishioners in the churchyard on high festivals. If this were a general custom I find no trace of it in relation to Worcester; but it is clear, from one fact which has been handed down to us, that at an early period of our history a very considerable interest was taken by Worcester ecclesiastics in the subject of shaving and cutting hair. Long hair was so common in the reign of Edward the Confessor that it is recorded of our good Bishop Wulstan that he not only boldly inveighed against the custom and severely reproached the people for their effeminacy, but when any hirsute individual bowed down his head to receive the episcopal blessing, before the Bishop gave it he cut off a lock of the man's hair with a little sharp knife that he carried about him, and commanded by way of penance that he should cut the rest of his hair in the same manner, denouncing dreadful judgments against such as disobeyed the injunction.

Craving pardon for this digression, it will be seen from the instances I have given that selfishness and a short-sighted policy were conspicuous throughout the trading and social regulations of the middle ages. Nothing was to be sold or purchased but through the particular channel cut out by the Corporation; and even that commonest necessary of life—water—was only to be had of the water bailiff. It has however been truly said that by throwing dirt on the beards of

our ancestors we shall not abundantly anoint our own, and therefore let us not unduly censure the past for those defects which were rather the consequence of limited light and a lack of experience than the product of wilful misgovernment. There was much of good even in the exclusive system of the trading guilds, and a great deal which might be learnt with advantage by those pernicious associations, the trades unions of the present day. Besides that feeling of mutual protection which strengthened the good government of a city, and gave a noble instance of self-rule, consolidating our liberties, and preserving our time-tried institutions, the supervision which an associated body exercised over every individual member had a most beneficial effect on character; justice between masters and men was equally an object of the companies, and an admirable rule existed which prevented any craftsman going to law with another, the masters and wardens deciding all disputes. Perjured persons and felons were turned out of fellowship, as also were workmen who left their employ without leave, and any apprentice who left his master "in his need" was not to be employed again till the feast of the Nativity. All "deceitful and untrue work" was condemned; no malicious words or taunts to each other were permitted, nor any inveigling of persons from their employ; nor was any apprentice taken who was a known thief, or of evil conversation, or disloyal to authority. But perhaps the best result of these associations was the fraternal feeling engendered by them—the interest mutually taken by employers and their men in each other's welfare—the warm and genial consciousness in every workman, however humble, that he was not a useless or despised thing in society, but a necessary and welcome member of the great family of man. In illness or distress he was provided for by subscription; when married, he and his fair one were escorted to the

hymeneal altar by his loving brethren and "the masters of the fellowship"; and when stricken down by the hand of death, a heavy fine was inflicted on his surviving associates if they did not one and all attend him to his last long home. Only think of the kindliness of heart which suggested the following rule of the Worcester Cordwainers' Company :—"If it fortune any of the said fellowship to be maryed or desceased, the bedell to summon all the masters to accompany him to church, on paine of 12*d.*" Or of that genial and praiseworthy bye-law made by the barbers of Durham, that at each dinner of the craft "every man *and his wife* shall sett together as they're agreed, and that none shall be wantinge, upon paine of 2*s.* 6*d.* to be given to the box." If therefore a test of civilization is the amount of consideration paid to the fair sex, our ancestors were certainly not much behind their descendants of the present day in this particular. Their convivial meetings, too, were held in company with and under the salutary check of their superiors—an excellent custom which has gradually given way to the false pride, cant, and squeamishness of later times. Lastly, a custom formerly observed by the Clothiers may well be recommended for adoption in the present day, namely, the cessation of work during harvest, to admit of their people assisting in gathering in the crops. Such an arrangement would seem to be desirable now, when the tyranny of labourers' unions over the farmer, and the spirit of idleness, malice, and disaffection, engendered by them, are exercising a most disastrous effect on the best interests of this country !

The subject of pageants, as connected with guilds, has been treated of at page 81, but it may here be added that the custom was for each trade, or company of trades, to perform its own play and move on through the streets, to be followed by other companies representing each its distinct pageant or mystery; so that

the collection of a dense crowd at any one spot was prevented, and good order preserved. Chester has been celebrated for its miracle plays; and as these performances were most frequent in Cathedral cities, of course Worcester had its share of this popular means of enjoyment. The subjects of these exhibitions, it has been ascertained, were rude representations of scenes and incidents in Scripture history, such as "The creation of Adam," "The birth, baptising, and burial of Christ," "The descent into hell," "The three Kings of Coleyn," "Gog and Magog," "The judgment day," &c. Besides these were mysteries and moralities, not confined to Scripture. Every craft having a pageant was to find one cressett (a large lanthorn fixed at the end of a pole) to "be born before the baillies of the said citie in the vigil of Seynt John Baptist, at the comon watche of the said citie, and the wardens or stewards of the said crafte, and all the hool crafte in ther due ordre and corse, after ther going in ther pageants on Corpus Christi day, shall waite upon the said baillies yn the said vigil at the said watche, in ther best arraye," upon pain of 40*d*. This custom of watching was usual in large cities on the eve of St. John's Day, or Midsummer Eve. It was performed with great pageantry, a large armed band marching through the streets, with the mayor or bailiff on horseback, preceded by the waits, or city minstrels, with morris dancers, cresset lights, and in some places figures of giants, devils, and dragons. These monsters were great favourites with the people. The Cordwainers' pageant was given on the day of the patron saint of the trade (St. Crispin)—the cordwainers having enacted "That the sayd master and wardens, at the comandment of the bailives of the sayd citie, shal ordayne for the furniture and setting forward of the pageant of the sayd fellowship, and of the players unto ye same belonging, and for the watch and lightes, according as it hath been accustomed tyme

out of mynde." The "watch and lights" is explained by the ancient custom of setting the Midsummer watch, as stated above.

The Worcester trading companies lingered on—as the relics of a system fast disappearing before the education and altered habits of a new era—until the close of the last and beginning of the present century. The Ironmongers' account books go no further than 1822; the Tailors' ate their last dinner at the Bull's Head on April 20th, 1837; and although the Clothiers still remain—let us hope, to delectate themselves and distribute charitable funds for many years to come—it must be remembered that they have no more to do with "draperinge," and perhaps still less with "yarn," than the humble individual who writes these pages. Let us then, in conclusion, just take a glance at the relics of these incorporations. Mr. Burlingham possesses the Judge's confirmation of the Glovers' bye-laws in 1561, some later documents, and a book of members' names from 1570 to 1662. There is an ancient flag belonging to the Tailors, with their bye-laws, minute books, and deeds. One of the minute books belonging to the Smiths is still in existence, commencing 1753. Mr. Minchall possesses the relics of the Cordwainers' Company, consisting of a book of ordinances or regulations made in 1558 (copied in 1576); various apprentices' indentures; a roll of members from 1741 to the close; a silver cup; and the company's silver seal. The latter bears the badge of the goat's head, supposed to have originated in the fact of the leather used by the Cordwainers (Cordovan leather) being made of goats' skins. The cup bears the arms of the company—a chevron, between three goats' heads; crest, a goat's head, with three stars. And the inscription sets forth that the cup is "The gift of Jas. Wynns, high master for the year 1722, instead of a treat." But by far the most interesting remains are those of the Clothiers' Company. They

consist of—1. The charter of Elizabeth, on vellum, beautifully emblazoned, with the great seal of England attached by a twisted silken cord, and enclosed in a box of equal antiquity. 2. Two green silk flags, bearing date 1540 and 1541, and inscribed :—"Henry VIII., by the grace of God King of Ingland and of France, Lorde of Ireland, Defender of the Faythe, and immediately under God supreme Hed of the Church of Ingland." 3. A silver double seal, dated 1655, with a ring attached for a string to put round the neck of the high master when he gives his toasts; at one end of the seal are the arms of the city, and at the other the Weavers impaling the Clothiers. 4. Two very ancient yard measures (one much shorter than the other, by the by), borne by the beadles when in procession. 5. A parchment document—"The original By-laws by Act of Henry VI. legalised by two judges of assize," its border most splendidly emblazoned. 6. Another curious document, being a receipt from the Herald College for fees paid for registering the armorial ensigns of the company at the visitation in 1682. 7. Two processional shields, one covered with a hide. On one are painted the Weavers' arms, granted in 1487, and the motto, "Weave truth with trust." On the other the Cloth-workers' arms, and motto, "My trust is in God alone." 8. A pall, formerly used at the funerals of deceased members. It is composed of alternate stripes of embroidered velvet and tapestry. The embroidering on the velvet consists of *fleurs-de-lis;* eagles, double-headed, displayed; pine apples (or perhaps teazels, used in the cloth trade); and angels with expanded wings, standing on wheels (usually emblematical of St. Catharine's martyrdom), and St. Catharine was a patron of spinners or spinsters. The tapestry consists of saints and passages from Scripture history; at the sides are four shields of arms or devices, relative to the manufacture of cloth. An ancient altar cloth found some

years ago in Winchcomb church bears a close resemblance to this pall. It was suggested by the late Miss Agnes Strickland, during her visit to Worcester a few years ago (when I had the pleasure of showing that lady some of the antiquities of the city) that this pall might be a mortuary cloth used at Prince Arthur's funeral; that the embroidery is Spanish; that the pine-apple or teazle is a pomegranate; the purple, the imperial colour; and that the wheels are Catharine wheels, introduced into the arms through Prince Arthur's marriage with Catharine of Aragon. This idea was refuted by the Rev. Mr. Hartshorne, in a paper before the Archæological Institute at Cambridge, by a document which he produced from the Rolls Court. Moreover Leland, in his "Collectanea," tells us that the noblemen present at that funeral in Worcester Cathedral each presented a rich pall, and that when the corpse was taken to the grave a minister of the church took away the palls (no doubt as a perquisite), and no mention whatever is made of anything done by the Clothiers' Company on that occasion. Mr. Hartshorne stated that the Clothiers' funeral pall consists of two copes sewed together; the angels represented on it have no relation to St. Catharine, but in his opinion they refer to the vision of Ezekiel. The work is clearly of the date of the early part of Henry 7th's reign. 9. Bye-laws made under authority of Queen Elizabeth's charter, to enable assessments to be made on members of the Corporation towards raising money for the management of the trade. 10. Deed of covenant in 1686, by Mr. Joseph Darling on being appointed a factor for the sale of Worcester cloths in Worcester Hall, Blackwell Hall. 11. Agreements in 1692, 1695, and 1699, made by the Master Clothiers, as to the allowance to be made to hired Master Weavers for the ends and thrums and knots from the cloth when woven. 12. Leases in 1659 and 1682 of the Pageant House

in the Corn-market. (From entries in the account book of the Walker Clothiers it appears that rent was received for the Pageant House up to 1738, and chief-rent paid for it to the Corporation of the city of Worcester.) 13. Book containing list of the Weaver apprentices inrolled from 1587 to 1635. 14. Another book containing list of the Walker apprentices, 1632-1770. 15. Agreement, made in 1750, on parchment, as to the payment of forfeits on non-attendance at meetings. (This bears the signature of all the members of the Clothiers' Company to the present time.) 16. A wooden block on which are engraved the Weavers' arms. 17. Two new banners or flags (with poles), purchased by subscription in 1849. 18. A silver two-handled flagon, presented to the company by Mr. J. C. Dent, of Sudeley Castle, as a memorial of his uncles, John Dent and William Dent. [The pall and flags above-mentioned are kept in an ancient chest with three locks, on which is a brass plate engraved with the Weavers' arms impaling those of the Cloth-workers.]

The Corporation also possesses some of the charters and books of orders and bye-laws, ordinances, and proceedings of the Tailors and Drapers' Company, the Clothiers' Company, and the Carpenters and Joiners' Company (for which see Mr. Woof's catalogue, before mentioned).

Ancient Forests, Woods, and Parks

OF WORCESTERSHIRE.

"Not thus the land appeared in ages past—
A dreary desert and a gloomy waste,
To savage beasts and savage laws a prey,
And kings more furious and severe than they,
Who claimed the skies, and dispeopled air and floods,
The lonely lords of empty wilds and woods."

THE history of Worcestershire in the middle ages would be incomplete—not to say worthless—without a full consideration of its forests and their laws as affecting the physical and moral condition of the people then inhabiting this district; and the truth of the assertion will be obvious when we recollect that from the earliest times, of which there is any record, Worcestershire was for the most part covered with dense forests, the "boundless contiguity of whose shade" (as the poet beautifully describes it) gave shelter from perhaps primæval times to at least the wolf, the stag, the wild boar, and many varieties of the meaner beasts of venery. We read that the ancients adored their forests, and imagined many of their gods to reside in them. Temples were frequently raised in the thickest woods, the gloom and silence whereof naturally inspired sentiments of devotion and turned men's thoughts within themselves; for which reason the Druids chose forests for their residence, and there instructed the youth, proclaimed laws, and performed their mystic rites. The original settlers, and those who succeeded them, gradually cleared away

portions of these forests to establish their villages ; and as population increased and civilization advanced, the expenditure of wood for fuel, for building purposes, for the use of the iron works in the north of the county, and the salt-works at Droitwich, still further thinned the forests, until they became broken up into woods of varying size, and at unequal distances. At the time of the conquest the wood at Bromsgrove was seven miles long and four wide ; that at Beoley, six miles long and three wide. In general, however, they were of much less extent, dwindling down in some places to one or two furlongs only. It would seem that these woods were not usually fenced in, for in Domesday special mention is made of one (at Shell) as being protected with a fence. In the majority of cases each manor had a wood of its own ; or if two or three adjoining manors belonged to the same proprietor, one wood of proportionate size might be retained for the requirements of the whole. Chaddesley had two woods. It was absolutely necessary, before the introduction of coal, that every town and village should have the means of supplying itself with fuel, and hence the necessity for woods to be near at hand, not only to furnish material for firing, but timber for building and repairs ; and as our Saxon ancestors were famous for curing their own bacon, thousands of hogs found shelter and food in the recesses of these woods. At Crowle, a wood, half a mile in extent, was assigned to a hundred hogs. The privilege or right of so feeding them from Michaelmas to Martinmas (November 11th) was called "pannage."

One great product of the woodland was honey—an article much more in request than it has been since the introduction of sugar. But another and still greater necessary of life was salt ; and in those manors which were accessible to Droitwich a fixed number of loads of wood were every summer set apart in each manor for

consumption in the salt-works of that town; the waggons which conveyed the fuel thither returning loaded with a regular apportionment of salt to every manor from which the wood had been sent. It was then probably sold to the various householders according to their respective requirements; and no doubt the lord of the manor, by himself or bailiff, secured a lucrative market in this way, by selling salt to the residents in the manor, or to purchasers from a distance. At all events, the exchange of wood and salt was one of mutual benefit. Thus we find that at Bromsgrove, in the King's demesne, thirteen salt-works were appended to the manor, and three salinarii *(i.e.)* wallers or boilers of the salt, who rendered three hundred mitts or measures of that article, for which, in the time of King Edward, three hundred cart-loads of wood were given by the managers of the timber in the manor. If the wood was not furnished the king could not receive his rent. At Fladbury there was a wood two miles long and half a mile wide, of which the Bishop of Worcester received all the proceeds arising from hunting, from honey, and the supply of wood to the salt-works at Droitwich.

In ministering to the pleasures of the chase these woods were, of course, essential for harbouring the animals which, in the middle ages, afforded sport to kings, bishops, lords, and other important personages. Royalty was peculiary selfish and brutal in this matter of hunting, not only covetously appropriating to itself so large a share of the sport as it was physically incapable of enjoying, but most cruelly and barbarously treating the profane vulgar who gave way to that sporting instinct which is more or less natural to most men, and which was certainly not intended to be a monopoly for princes and the great men of the land.

It will thus be seen that the forests were an important institution of mediæval life, and a source of con-

siderable profit to those who enjoyed their products. Yet it was not always that a favourable balance sheet could be presented, as in the case of Astley, where there was a wood a mile long, and half a mile wide, which is returned in Domesday as being absolutely worth nothing, though the reason for this is not mentioned.

The definition of a royal forest was a territory of woody grounds and fertile pastures, privileged for wild beasts and fowls of forest, chase, and warren, to rest and abide in under the protection of the king, for his princely recreation and delight, and having great coverts for the succour of the said beasts; and a forest could only be in the hands of the king, except by special grant, as he alone had the power to constitute such commissions as were necessary to the existence of a forest, particularly in appointing a lord justice in eyre of the forests, and also the various courts held therein.

From what has now been said it will be understood that the term "forest" did not mean a complete continuation of wood, but included or extended over, besides the woods, much open country for the chase, fruitful pastures, towns, villages, gardens, a scattered population, and here and there a baronial castle, with its park enclosure. The laws of the forest prevailed over the whole district included in the boundary of a given forest, except to such woods, parks, or warrens, as were private property, or were excluded from the forest by royal grant or license. Thus at Alvechurch there were three or four miles of wood, of which William the Conqueror transferred one-half only to his royal forest; and that many woods were not included in the forest is proved by special mention in Domesday of all such as were thus included.

The first appearance of forest laws in a tangible shape was under Canute. Originally they were barbarously severe, vesting uncontrolled power in the hands

of the king, and much misery was occasioned by the tyranny of the Norman monarchs. For laying out the New Forest, in Hampshire, it is said that twenty-two parish churches and all the towns and villages for thirty miles were destroyed. But this has been ridiculed, as improbable, or highly exaggerated. Within a few years after the conquest there were sixty-eight forests enclosed, and the monastic chronicles inform us that "William the Conqueror made large forests, and whoever killed a hart or a hind was to be blinded. He forbad killing the deer and the boars, and he loved the tall stags as if he were their father." Rufus made it a hanging matter, and some offenders were made to purge themselves by the ordeal of fire. Henry I. made no distinction between him who killed a man and the destroyer of a buck; and there was sometime the abominable punishment of gelding and gouging, afterwards substituted by expatriation. Henry II. not only maintained the rigour of these laws, but enlarged the boundaries of many forests, to the great damage of the holders and the increased misery of the luckless population. The forest law was entirely distinct from the common law of the nation, the king executing his own arbitrary will in the scene of his exclusive pleasures. Heavy fines were levied for the most trifling offences, and sureties were to be produced, varying in number, according to the offence, up to twelve, and after that a further offence consigned the miserable wretch to a noisome prison during the pleasure of the king (in many cases tantamount to death). Moreover the oppression and tyranny of the officers of the forest was great, bribery and favouritism being much exercised, and the servile inhabitants were fain to purchase exemption from absolute ruin by timely fees to the foresters, or their under-keepers, who sometimes kept alehouses, and compelled the people to come and drink at a high price on pain of their displeasure. The passion of the Court and aristocracy for hunting was a

bane to the rural population. Not only did they ride over the cultivated lands, and destroy the crops, but wherever they went they lived at free quarter on the unfortunate population, ill-treating the men and even outraging the females at will. John of Salisbury complains bitterly of the cruelty with which the country people were treated if they happened to be short of provisions when the hunters went to their houses. "If one of these hunters comes across your land," he says, "immediately and humbly lay before him everything you have in your house, and go and buy of your neighbours whatever you are deficient of, or you may be plundered and thrown into prison for your disrespect to your betters." At length the nation would bear this oppression no longer, and King John was compelled to promise (but died before he redeemed his word) what his son, Henry III., performed, in granting the Carta de Foresta. This was the first authentic mention of a separate charter of the forest, and was granted in 1217. Probably, however, this would not have been conceded had it not been for the royal necessities, and to enable the king to carry on a war with France, to do which the people agreed to the payment of a 15th penny in value of all their movable goods. Many of our best charters and privileges have been wrested from royalty in a similar manner —not offered voluntarily, nor even conceded without heavy payment in hard cash. Indeed this Henry III. proved to be as unprincipled as a Stuart, for having obtained the supply of his necessities, he, in 1227, revoked the charter, as being granted when he had no power over himself. Again the yoke of the forest laws became as oppressive as ever, till, in 1236, the nation demanded redress before another supply were conceded to the King and the Government. Then the charter once more become law, and was confirmed in 1253 and 1300, in which latter year both Magna

Charta and the Carta de Foresta were finally and completely established, after having been frequently endangered, and subjected to various mutations for nearly a century.

"Succeeding monarchs heard the subjects' cries,
Nor saw displeased the peaceful cottage rise."

Much of the rigour of the forest laws was now relaxed, and those large tracts of land which had been recently afforested (as I shall have occasion to show with regard to portions of the forest of Feckenham) were ordered to be disafforested, so that the forests should be reduced to their original extent; and perambulations to ascertain and fix that extent were everywhere made. Such lands so restored were called "pouralleys" (still called "purleys" in some places, as at Sherborne, Dorsetshire, and there is a "Purlieu-lane" leading to Mathon). Notwithstanding these concessions the laws were still absurdly severe. If a forester killed a resisting offender *in* the forest it was not felony, but *without* the boundary he would have been amenable to the common law for such an offence, and to the mercy of a jury who would no doubt have deemed the murder as nothing in the scale against that kingly wrath which would have been evoked by an honest discharge of their duty. Killing the king's deer was no longer a capital offence, but was punishable by fine, imprisonment, or abjuration of the realm. Offenders taken in the act, or "with the manner" as it was termed, were seized, and generally imprisoned during the king's pleasure. This term "with the manner" had four parts, each of which was a distinct offence: 1st, "stable stand," or when a man was found standing with his bow bent ready to shoot; 2nd, "dog-draw," where the beast had been struck, and the dog was drawing after it; 3rd, "backbear," bearing the game away; and 4th, "bloody hand," when a person was found in the forest with hands imbrued in blood. All persons not assisting in the hue and cry

after offenders were heavily punished. Hawking and hunting were not to be practised by any common person, but only by kings, earls, barons, noblemen of the realm, or high ecclesiastics, nor could even the owners of freehold lands in the forest "do as they liked with their own" in the slightest way without grant or charter of the king or his justice in eyre. To cut down his own woods without such license rendered him liable to be proceeded against for "waste" and damage. If a man built a house on his own land without license it was considered a "purpresture," or encroachment. No hunting was to be allowed for forty days before and after the king's hunt, so that "the wild beasts may not by any means be disquieted of their rest and peace." A dweller in a forest might keep a mastiff (a word corrupted from 'maze thief, or thief frightener) for his own defence, provided the dog was lawfully expeditated—*i.e.*, three claws of its fore-feet cut off. An executioner was appointed at the Court of Attachments to expeditate all dogs found unlawfully in the enjoyment of their claws, which were by him struck off with a mallet and chisel, on a block of wood. "Foot-geld" was a fine for not cutting the feet of dogs kept in a forest to prevent their running after the king's deer. And there was a cutting or laming of dogs' hams—"hambling" or "hoxing" as it was termed. Geese, goats, sheep, and swine, were not allowed to have common in the forest, as it would be "ad magnum nocumentum ferarum forestæ." And great jealousy was shown in preventing commoners putting in more beasts than they were entitled to, which was called "surcharging the forest," and punishable by forfeiting their cattle, &c. Occasionally there were "drifts," or driving of all cattle by the forest officers into one place, and those persons who failed to come and claim their cattle then and there forfeited them to the king. Swine

and hogs were admitted to the forests from Holyrood day (fifteen days before Michaelmas) till forty days after Michaelmas, or about the feast of St. Martin. In pannage time swine were to be ringed, to prevent their rooting and turning up the king's soil, "which is the cause of the exilation of the king's deere." The allocation of cattle and swine to certain parts of the forest at the proper season was called "agistment." The time for cattle to have common of herbage was from fifteen days before Midsummer till Holyrood day. No one was allowed to keep greyhounds unless he had £10 a-year in land or tenements (worth perhaps £300 now), or was possessed of goods and chattels to the value of £200, or was the son of a knight or baron, or heir apparent of a 'squire, on pain of three months' imprisonment. Whitawers were not allowed to dwell in a forest, "for they are the dressers of skins of stolen deer." Nor were bakers or brewers permitted to carry on their trades therein. The comfort and peace of the beasts was the greatest object, compared with which the lives and liberties of the people were held in very slight estimation. Game was described as "dainty meat for the king and the best sort of men in the realm." If a deer was found killed, an inquest as to the cause of death was held. The flesh was afterwards given to the nearest hospital, or to the poor and lame of the neighbourhood, and the head and skin to the freemen of the next town; but—"This is meant of those deere that are *not sweete*, nor meete to be eaten of *the best sort of the people*; for if a beast be found dead, and newly killed, it is not meant by this statute to be given to a hospital." A nice gauge of charity, truly, to give away only what they rejected for their own eating. An archbishop, bishop, earl, or baron, in going to or returning from court (but only at the invitation of the king) was allowed to kill one or two deer in passing through the king's forests, but it must

be in the presence of the forester, or, if he could not be found, then a horn was to be blown for him, "so that he (the earl or bishop) seem not to steal our deere." There was a fence month for fawning, which was fifteen days before and after Midsummer, and very vigilant watch was then kept against all aggressors, and dire was the punishment if they were caught.

The officers of a forest were numerous: besides the lord chief justice, who had a resident lieutenant, there were the chief warden, or warder, and his lieutenant, a steward, verderers, regarders, foresters, agisters, walkers, parkers, warreners, rangers, woodwards, &c. The warder, or keeper, had the chief government of a royal forest, and when the lord chief justices in eyre were to hold a court he sent summonses to the keepers forty days previously, to warn all under officers to appear before him. A verderer was usually a squire or gentleman of good account, chosen in the same manner as a coroner, by the king's writ sent to the sheriff, and the votes of the county freeholders. His duty was to see the vert maintained. Vert was anything that grew or bore a green leaf in the forest. There was "over vert" and "under vert," the former being the great woods (hault-bois) and the latter under woods (sub-bois), bushes, thorns, gorse, fern, &c. He viewed and held inquests on the bodies of beasts found slain, and enrolled the attachments and presentments of all manner of offences relating to vert and venison. The regarder every year upon oath made a regard or view of the forest limits, and enquired into all offences or defaults of the officers, also for the survey of dogs. He was usually appointed by letters patent of the king, and generally there were twelve regarders in every forest. Some members of the ancient family of Egiock, residing at a place of that name in the parish of Inkberrow, were for many years regarders of the forest of Feckenham. A forester was appointed to walk the forest and watch vert and

venison, also to attach and present all trespasses within his walk. A ranger was a sworn officer, whose duty it was to walk daily through his charge, to drive back the deer out of the purlieus, or disafforested places, into the forest lands, and to present all trespasses done in his bailiwick at the next court. He was paid yearly out of the Exchequer, and had fee deer besides. Walkers were underkeepers, who walked regular rounds, and they were sworn "to be of *good behaviour towards his Majesty's wild beasts*," to conceal no offences, and not to oppress the people or use extortion. The best proof of the prevalence of this extortion was the fact of a special enactment to remedy it. Agisters were officers who took in and fed the cattle of strangers in the king's forest and collected the money due for their pannage and herbage. This was usually fifteen days before and fifteen days after Michaelmas, when the running of the cattle could not prejudice the game. Woodwards had the care of special woods; parkers of parks. Bailiffs directed the husbandry, felled trees, &c. A beadle was an officer or messenger of the court.

Not only all officers but all residents in a forest were compelled to take an oath to be true to the king and his game. The following was the oath taken by residents above twelve years of age:—

"You shall true liegeman be unto the king's majesty.
You shall no hurt do unto the beasts of the forest,
Nor unto anything that doth belong thereto.
The offences of other you shall not conceal,
But to the uttermost of your power you shall them reveal
Unto the officers of the forest,
Or to them that may see the same redressed.
All these things you shall see done,
So help you God at's holie doome."

With all these precautions, however, depredations were made in the king's forests. There is an old verse as to good manners in eating venison:—

"It is not to be enquired from whence venison cometh,
For if by chance it stolen be,
A good belief sufficeth thee."

And the quaint delightful old Fuller says :—"And as it is no manners for him that hath good venison before him to ask whence it came, but rather fairly to fall to it; so hearing an excellent sermon, he never enquires whence the preacher had it, or whether it was not before in print, but falls aboard to practice it."

Three courts were held in forests: 1, the Court of Attachments, held every forty days, which only determined offences when the value of the trespass or damage did not exceed 4d., and received the attachments of the foresters in readiness or preparatory to No. 2, the Court of Swanimote, held thrice a year. The name is from "Swain-mote," meeting of swains, or court of freeholders, owing suit and service within the forest, as "folk-mote" was a meeting of folk or people generally. The indictments and convictions of the Court of Swanimote were kept for and delivered to the lord chief justice at his court called the Justice Seat, and by him confirmed or reversed. These courts were proclaimed at fairs and markets a certain number of days before holding them.

The hart, hind, hare, boar, and wolf, were at first considered to be the five forest beasts, or beasts of venery. Subsequently the buck, doe, fox, marten, and roe, were the beasts of chase; while the hare, rabbit, pheasant, and partridge, were accounted beasts and fowl of warren. Beasts of chase were those which stayed in the fields by day and retired to their coverts by night; while the wild beasts of the forest hid themselves by day and came out at night to feed. The hart, which was said to be the noblest beast of the forest, was called in his first year a hind calf; in his second a broket; third, a spayard; fourth, a staggard; fifth, a stag; and sixth, a hart. The hind was called

in its first year a calf; second, a broket's sister; third, a hind. A buck, first year, was a fawn; second, a pricket; third, a sorrell; fourth, a sore; fifth, a buck of the first head; sixth, a great buck. Doe, first year, a fawn; second a pricket's sister; third, a doe. Roe, first, a kid; second, a gyrle; third, a hemuse; fourth, a roebuck of the first head; fifth, a fair roebuck. A hare, first, a leveret; second, a hare. Rabbit, first, a rabbit; second, an old coney. Wild boar, first, a pig of the sounder; second, a hog; third, a hogsteare; fourth, a boar. A fox was not considered a beast of the forest nor of venery, and the killing of it was not punished, except as being a trespass on the king's land. As early as the time of Canute foxes and wolves were held in great contempt by the people for the damage they occasioned; and it was customary, even down to the last century, for parish officers to make frequent entries in their books of sums paid for the destruction of foxes as a dangerous nuisance. In the parish chest at Claines will be found records of Sir John Pakington's men of that day being paid 1s. a head for foxes.

Worcestershire was almost entirely included in four great forests, viz. :—

Feckenham (including Pyperode forest),
Ombersley,
Horewell, and
Malvern.

Besides which portions of the forests of Wyre, Kinver, Arden, and Corse, belonging to the adjoining counties of Salop, Stafford, Warwick, and Gloucester, impinged more or less on various parts of the margin of Worcestershire. Nearly all the country between the rivers Avon and Severn was a thick and wild woodland. Arden forest joined to that of Feckenham, which, with the forest of Ombersley, included all the northern part of the county between the Stour and Severn, quite down to Worcester. The forest of Horewell

extended southward from Worcester to within a mile of Tewkesbury, while that of Malvern stretched from Teme in the north to Corse forest in the south, and from Severn to the top of Malvern hill.

FECKENHAM FOREST.

First let us take a survey of the forest of Feckenham. The ancient town of that name is believed to have given its name to the forest. The town was a place of note when the forest was enlarged by Henry II., and was part of the king's demesne, where the lords justices of the king's forests on this side Trent, either by themselves or their deputies, kept their courts to determine causes concerning the breach of the forest laws. They had, of course, a prison there, which stood on a piece of ground, about four acres, near the church, having a strong ditch round it; and on the north side of the prison was the dungeon, where many a wretched offender has come to a lingering death. In the time of Charles II., after the disafforesting, the site was planted with tobacco, which grew very well till prohibited by Act of Parliament in the same reign. The town of Feckenham is situate on the furthest limit of the ancient forest. The boundaries of this forest were ascertained and defined by an exact survey taken and delivered in upon oath to the king's justices in the 28th year of Edward I. (1300), as already mentioned. The king appointed his justices to cause this perambulation to be made, and at that time the principal officers of the forest were John de Schevelstrede, keeper of the forest; Richard Monirom, forester in fee; Robert Pippard, Richard de Cromeli, William de Lench, Thos. de Bottely, Stephen Wood, and Walter Writheling, verderers. The jurors on the occasion were all gentlemen of the county, many of them taking their names from their respective parishes, namely, William le Senescall (steward), Robert de Bracy, Adam de

Elmbrugge, Simon de Crombe, Henry de Pendoc, John de Intebery, Osbern d'Abetot, Alexander d'Abetot de Hyndelepe, Walter de Budley, Simon le Bruin, Robert de Someri, Alexander de Besford, William Gaul, and John de Kent. After a perambulation of the whole forest had been effected, the jury decided that the boundary commenced at the Fore-gate of the city of Worcester, the long street or suburb outside that gate of the city, now called Foregate-street and the Tything, and anciently known as "Forest-street," being bounded on its east side by the forest of Feckenham, and on the west by that of Ombersley, although the actual woods of the forests might not have extended to the gates of the city, except in very early times. Let us now endeavour to follow the award of the jury in drawing the outline of this large forest from its commencement at the Foregate to its termination at Sidbury gate, so far as the change of names in various localities will permit us to identify them. Passing by Beverbourne (Barbourne) it went along the king's highway to Droitwich, down the middle of Runynstreet, or Ruine-street (since called St. Andrew's-lane), thence to Gase-ford, and along the road to Latterne-brugge (corruptly called Leathern-bridge), so to Wychband (Wichbold), and by the mill of the nuns of Westwood to Kinges-lond, thence to Purshull, along Godhyne-way, which goes through the middle of Rushucke to Bradeford-brugge, and along the same way to the river Stour, avoiding Hartlebury and Kidderminster, and so up the river to Belme-way, to Brocton (Belbroughton), and going still up the water to a wood called Maydeneleye (Maidley Farm?) and thence along the road to the river Salewarp, and up the same to Chadeleswick (Chadwick Hall?) to the head of the river Arrow, near the Lickey hill, down that river to Bordesley, thence across a country which is still thickly wooded, and passing probably not above two or three miles from

Feckenham, which was said to be the furthest eastern limit of the forest, and so on by Inkberrow and the Lenches, to the river Avon. Down the bank of the Avon the forest extended to the ancient town of Evesham; thence, returning towards Worcester, the boundary included Craucombe (Craycombe ?), Throckmorton, Aston-juxta-Wigorn (White Ladies Aston), Spetchley, and along the king's highway to Sidbury or Southbury gate.

This extensive circuit was the enlarged area of the forest, as increased by Henry II., prior to whose time the boundary was much less, for we are told by the same authority, in Nash, that this Nimrod of a king added to the ancient forest many manors, villages, and hamlets, namely, the manor of Pirie (of which Perry Wood, near Worcester, was a part), Everie, part of the manor of Northwick, the manor of Lippard, the villages of Hindlip, Warndon, Tibberton, Oddingley, Dunhampstead, Himbleton, hamlets at Droitwich, Hadzor, Impney, Hanbury, Astwood, part of Wychebande, the villages of Scirrive, Upton, and Grafton (Upton Warren and Grafton, near Bromsgrove); the hamlet of Timberhangle, part of Kokesey (Cooksey), the hamlets of Cutbaldeseye, and Worugge; the site of the priory of Doddeforde,* parts of Purshull, Rushucke, and Hertlebure, viz., Thoronthon (Torton ?), the village of Stone, the manor of Chaddesley Corbett, part of the manor of Forfeld, part of the village of Beolne, part of the manor of Stoke, part of Cofton, part of Alvechurch, the granges of Sydenhale, de la Leye, and Hawele (Hewell ?), the site of Bordesley Abbey, part of Tardelbrugg (Tardebigg), and the hamlet of Redditch, the villages of Herforton (Harvington), Lenchwyke, Evesham, Scirrive-lench, the hamlets of Atche-lench and Kucebivinton, the villages of Church-lench and Habbe-

* The lands of this priory, two miles N.W. of Bromsgrove, were disafforested by Henry II.

lench, part of the manor of Fladbury, the villages of Bissampton, Aldbryton (Abberton), Lench Rondulph, Morton Abbots, the site of the grange of Holeweye, the villages of Dormerston (Dormstone), Kington, Flavel, Huddington, Upton Snodsbury, Newnton, Piddel, Grafton, Broughton Hacket, Crowle, Churchill, Bredicot, and part of Spetchley,—all which places were said to have been added to the forest by Henry II., "to the great damage of the lords thereof;" but soon after the above-mentioned perambulation the forest was reduced to its ancient limits, and the manors and villages of which a list has just been given were disafforested, which, it will now be understood, does not mean cleared of wood, but rendered free of the forest laws. Bromsgrove, a part of Chaddesley, and other places whose names are not now clearly identified, continued however within the forest, as being a part of the king's demesne. No doubt the perambulators held a court of enquiry at each place on the line of the forest boundary, and having received evidence, made a return, as in the case of Cofton and Alvechurch, wherein their award has been handed down to us in Nash's history, thus: —"Illam partem de Cofton quæ est in forresta, cum vasto quam Robertus de Leycester tenet, et illam partem de Alvechurch quæ est in forresta quam episcopus Wigorn tenet, hæ terræ predictæ fuerint afforestatæ per Henricum regem, proavum d'ni regis qui nunc est, ad dammum omnium tenentium." It is stated that Rouse Lench was disafforested in the year after the coronation of Henry II.

The smaller forest of Pyperode, included in that of Feckenham, embraced the manors of Chaddesley, Rushock, Elmley Lovett, Belbroughton, and parts of Alvechurch and Bromsgrove. The name of this forest of Pyperode does not occur, so far as I know, in any public or private records relating to lands in this county beyond what is mentioned in Nash, nor is it known

why or when this inner woodland circle was described, nor what occasioned the adoption of the name; but I believe the name is still retained in certain woods within the manor of Chaddesley or Belbroughton, called Pepper Woods.

Materials for the history of the forest of Feckenham are scanty and incoherent, yet such as remain I will endeavour to present in as connected a manner as possible. Chaddesley was one of the places which had the misfortune to be added to the forest by Henry II., and the Corbetts, who in Norman days gave their name as an affix to that of the parish, became the chief landowners there. Peter Corbett, a member of that family, was said to have been a keen sportsman in the time of Edward I., and received the royal mandate, that in all forests, parks, and other places, in the counties of Worcester, Gloucester, Hereford, Salop, and Stafford, in which he might find wolves, he was to hunt the same with men, dogs, and engines, to destroy them. Whether this Corbett was chief warder or keeper of Feckenham forest, or merely received a special commission to hunt wolves only, does not appear. The hunter of wolves was in the king's pay. In the 13th of Henry II., 3*s.* was ordered to be paid to the hunter in Worcestershire who caught the wolves in the forest. The same sum was paid in succeeding reigns, but only seldom mention seems to have been made of the hunter after the time of Henry III., when the Charter of the Forest was granted, and disafforesting commenced. In the church of Chaddesley, besides interesting monuments to these Corbetts, is one of a man and his wife. At the man's head is an escutcheon, with two barbed arrows in saltire, and over that of the woman a hunter's horn, stringed; with the inscription: "Orate pro animabus Thomæ Foryst, parcarii de Dunclent Park, et Margaretæ uxoris ejus, et omnium puerorum suorum" (of whom they had five boys and six girls, ranged in a straight line beneath

their parents' feet, and on whose souls they pray the Lord to have mercy). No date is given, but it is probably late 15th century work, and the man is described as the park keeper or forester of Dunclent. The horn and arrows show his calling: the latter, forked or bifurcated, were the hunting arrows of that period. These monuments of hunters are rare. In Pershore church is the effigy of a knight, armed, with his right hand grasping a horn, which has been thought to denote a forest ranger, but Mr. Bloxam believes that it signifies in this case a knight who held lands by cornage tenure or horngeld.

We are indebted to ecclesiastical records for some account of this forest, for it seems that even the clergy, all powerful as they were in most matters, were obliged to look sharply after their rights when they came into collision with the royal prerogative of the chase. It appears that the bishops of Worcester, who had lands in Feckenham forest, and certain privileges to take and carry away out of their own woods, without supervision or control of the king's foresters or verderers, were frequently disturbed in their rights; but generally the mitre prevailed against the crown, as must always be the case when the former is backed by influences deriving their force and efficacy from considerations relating to another world. Henry III. granted to the Prior and Convent of Worcester that they should keep their woods and enjoy their privileges in the forests of Feckenham and Kinver, provided the foresters appointed by the prior and monks took an oath to the king not to destroy his game. None of the king's foresters or bailiffs were to meddle with the rights of the monastery—hunting in the said woods alone excepted—and no waste was to be committed, but the trial of such waste to be determined by the justices of the forest and by a jury of twelve freemen, knights as well as others. This agreement was dated at Woodstock, Aug. 16, 1256.

But it was in the nature of things that frequent disputes and conflicts should occur between these opposing interests, when day by day the rival officers of the forest met and exchanged rough courtesies, wrangled, and quarrelled. The merest trifle would be sufficient to occasion a scene of violence—the escape of a bit of venison through a defective fence, the falling of a tree over a boundary line, or any other little matter magnified into a great one by the mutual jealousies of clerical and lay agency brought into juxta-position disagreeably close. Dr. Thomas informs us that on the eve of Lady-day, 1289-90, there was a court held by the king at Feckenham, and an enquiry made throughout the whole county as to who had transgressed in hunting in that forest, and many were imprisoned, and others that were indicted for the same found six sureties for their appearance before the king at Woodstock on the nones of April, to hear his sentence of mercy or judgment; and because there was no other equity but the king's will, the bishop's redemption was taxed at 500 marks and the prior's at 200. In the following autumn the king's foresters, probably emboldened by the punishment awarded to these dignitaries, insulted the prior of Worcester as he was travelling along the road at Harvington, near Evesham, robbed his servants of their bows and arrows, and sounded their horns on all sides against him. In case of trespass by hunting or border hostility, the foresters and others used to shout and blow their horns, to bring in the country to their aid; hence the northern border tenure of cornage, before alluded to.

It has been already stated that the justices of the king's forests on this side Trent held their courts at Feckenham, to determine causes concerning the breach of the forest laws. It is recorded, however, that in May, 1300, Hugh le Despencer, then chief justice of the forest, afterwards the favourite and principal

minister of Edward II., attended by all the foresters of Feckenham, held his court at the hospital of St. Wulstan in Worcester—now called "The Commandery," in Sidbury—to impose fines on the destroyers of the king's game; but the reason for this change of the seat of forest justice is not specified; it was probably merely a temporary arrangement, for the accommodation of the parties concerned. About the same time we hear of one Richard Pontfrait lying imprisoned above three years for fishing in the king's pond at Feckenham, and being fined 20s. (worth more than as many pounds of the present coinage). It is also recorded that Edward I., who frequently visited the tomb of St. Wulstan, at Worcester Cathedral, on one of these occasions slept at Feckenham on his return.

Another disturbance of the rights of the Bishop of Worcester was occasioned by the servants of Margaret, queen mother of Edward II., but those rights were confirmed by deed, dated Feb. 12, 1315. After the death of Bishop Cobham (1327), two cows were seized for a heriot due for the bishop's lands within the forest, but this was stated to have been an injustice, as no heriot had been paid for those lands by any of the bishop's predecessors; whereupon his executors petitioned Queen Isabel that right should be done them; and the petitioners were successful. In 1346, the bishop (Wulstan of Bransford) was once more disturbed in his forest rights, upon which a writ of enquiry was issued, and the following jury summoned and sworn, viz., John de Sodington, Andrew Foliot, Roger de Bishopesdon (Bishopton), John Coleman, Richard Lench, John Ruding, Richard Toky, Richard Alisandre, William de Disford, Philip de Spechesley, Richard Sompnor, and Osbert Spelly, who upon oath returned that the Bishops of Worcester had from time immemorial enjoyed the aforesaid privileges. Upon which Thomas de Berkeley, keeper of the king's forests

on this side Trent, wrote to Giles Beauchamp, keeper of the forest of Feckenham, charging him to let the bishop enjoy the same without molestation from him or his servants. This order was dated at Berkeley, May 7, 1348, and was confirmed by Richard II., in 1393. In 1371, the king sent a writ to John Foyle, keeper of the forest of Feckenham, commanding that the prior and monks of Worcester should, for themselves and their tenants of Stoke Prior, have common of pasture for all cattle in the prior's woods and elsewhere within the said forest, as they were accustomed to have time out of mind. Another decision in favour of the monks of Worcester was made in 1404, when an inquisition was taken before John King, lieutenant of the Duke of York, chief justice of the forests, to ascertain if the manor of Shurnake, in the parish of Feckenham, was privileged with charter warren; and after due enquiry the jury discharged the said manor of the laws of the forest, declaring that the foresters of Feckenham ought to have no repast in the manor of the Church of Worcester, called Shurnake. This award was made by John Wybbe, Rd. Beaumont, Roger Chaterle, verderers; Wm. Spechesley, Ed. Hambury, Ed. Eggok, Rd. Rudging, Henry Mottolow, John Hawy, Thos. Lyde, Thos. Podwale, John Rudying, Thomas Hawkeslow, Thomas Rudying, and John Colemore, regarders, who upon oath said:—"Quod foresta de Feckenham nullum repastum habere debet in manerio ecclesiæ sanctæ beatæ Mariæ Wygorn de Shernack, nec habuit a tempore quo non extant memoria de jure. Et ideo dicti forestarii sunt de dicto repasto quieti."

It is thus evident that much vigilance and energy were exhibited by the bishops and priors of Worcester in maintaining their rights in the forest. Ecclesiastics affected the sports of the field with as keen a zest as any other class; and although a bishop was not permitted by the canon law to hunt for the sake of

pleasure *(voluptatis causa)*, he might do so for recreation, or for health and the necessity of the body,—a fine distinction truly, but just as in our own day some people take spirits medicinally, strongly objecting, however, to the inference that so base a motive as pleasure has anything to do with it. I might introduce the reader into Worcester monastery to prove that the shaven ecclesiastics of those days were no better nor worse than the fox-hunting parsons of the last century, for the prior of Worcester was a liberal subscriber to the chase, and it would seem kept hounds himself. Hounds were necessary and useful in turning into profit the wild stock upon the manors, and to them was owing the venison which formed such savory meals, and which was salted for winter consumption. Prior Moore's accounts (early in the sixteenth century) contain the following items :—

	s.	*d.*
Payd for a great horne for ye hunt	3	4
Rewards to ye Kyng's hunt	1	8
To our hunter and hys companie, for hunting at Bredon hylls	0	7
To ye hunt on Cristmays daye	1	0
To Jas. Badger his wife for my kennell hounds	6	8
Rewards to Mr. Wm. Skull for hunting otters	3	4
For coat to the otter taker	6	8

The monks of Finchale in the 14th century were reproved for keeping a pack of hounds. Reginald Brian, Bishop of Worcester in 1352, in a letter to the Bishop of St. David's (from which see Brian had just been translated), reminds his brother prelate of a promise he had made to send him six brace of excellent hunting dogs—"the best he had ever seen," and that he had been in daily expectation, so that his "heart languished for their arrival." "Let them come (says he), O reverend father, without delay. Let my woods re-echo with the music of their cry and the cheerful notes of the horn, and let the walls of my palace be

decorated with the trophies of the chase." Bishop Whitgift, it is said, hunted often in Hartlebury park, and many other places, particularly Lord Cobham's park in Kent, where he killed twenty bucks in one journey, using greyhounds or his bow at pleasure, though he never shot well. The same is credibly reported of Archbishop Sandys. It is written of Cranmer, in his life: "Permiserat ei pater aucupium, venationem, equitationem, &c. Quibus quidem, cum jam archiepiscopus, relaxare animum, et abducere se a rebus gravioribus vellet, ita utebatur, ut in famulatu suo non fuerit quispiam qui in generosum equum salire, ac tractare elegantius, aut aves, ferasque aucupio aut venatione insequi commodius intelligentiusque potuisset. Sæpe etiam, etsi oculis infirmis esset, arcum tendens, sagitta percussit feram." It was not a century ago that a charge was regularly made in the audit accounts of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester for sums given "for the city huntsman." In Abingdon's MSS. (now in Somerset House) mention is made of a Mr. Lyttelton 300 years ago, who invited the Bishop of Worcester to hunt with him at Frankley; for (says the writer) bishops were then keen sportsmen, and so continued to be till the very unhappy accident which befel the good Archbishop Abbot in the next reign, by shooting and killing the keeper at Branzill Park, Hants.

But to return from this digression to the forest of Feckenham, I find further evidence of the frequent adjustment of lay and clerical interests within that wide arena of feudal despotism. In June, 1408, Henry IV. granted Bishop Peverell license to cut down and sell out of his own woods within the forest of Feckenham as many oaks as would amount to 200 marks, to enable him to repair the manor-houses of his bishopric, which he had found in many places ruinous. This proves that the owners of property within the

limits of a forest had no power but that which was borrowed from royalty for the disposition of that property. No subject could enclose his own wood, or lay out a park, or even cut down a tree for necessary repairs, without a license from the king or the chief justice. The vicar of Feckenham had the privilege of summering and wintering a certain number of cattle within the forest; and among the lands which were exempt from the laws of this forest were those of the abbot of Bordesley; viz., the grange of Sydenhale, the grange de la Ley, the new grange of Hawley (Hewell?) the abbey of Bordesley and its grounds, part of Tardebigg with the woods thereof, and the hamlet of Redditch.

PARKS.

Another kind of privileged enclosures were the parks. There were two parks in this county at the time of Domesday, viz., Salwarp, belonging to Earl Roger, and which we do not hear of again; and the other at Wadberge (Wadborough), the property of Pershore monastery, which seems to have been disparked in the seventeenth century. Besides these parks, "hayes" are also noticed in Domesday at Holt and Kington, held respectively by Urso and Roger de Laci. These hayes were enclosures—hedged or paled woods—into which game was driven and then slain, in a kind of battue, when a large stock of food was required. They were the prototypes of modern coverts. Parks were entered by deer-leaps or hedges, and a deer-leap was a pitfall, an old contrivance for taking deer generally on the edge of a forest or chase. Our neighbouring parish of Hindlip (hind-leap) received its name in this way; it was on the western edge of the forest of Feckenham, near the king's highway from Worcester to Droitwich. At Offenham, where once was a park, its boundary is still clearly defined by a fosse and bank known as

"The Deer's-leap." The right of taking deer by this means was often granted by charter, and frequently used by deer-stealers without any right. An example of a chartered deer-leap still exercising its privileges is at Wolseley in Staffordshire, on the edge of Cannock Chase. The fences and ditches of parks were for the purpose of preventing the royal beasts from entering and the deer from going out. All other enclosures were most strictly regulated as to the depth of the foss or ditch, and the height of the pale or hedge with which the ground was to be fenced, in order to allow free ingress to the royal deer; and rigid stipulations were drawn up as to the manner in which a park or enclosure might be entered in pursuit of game which had been struck outside. Mr. Shirley, in his excellent work on "English Deer Parks," shows us that hunting was a matter of great deliberation and importance; deeds were drawn up and sealed, and most searching inquiries made as to the state of the game in every forest and chase; warrants for the due delivery of venison were written and signed with legal accuracy. An old writer describes our parks as being "maintained only for the pleasure of the owner, to the no small decay of husbandry, and the diminution of mankind." It appears there were more parks in England than in all Europe beside; and they were strongly fenced around, not only with walls and palings, but by an Act of Parliament which awarded three months' imprisonment to any one breaking into them. Parks were gradually diminishing in number for some time before the Commonwealth, but at that period the royal preserves were almost wholly destroyed, as also those of the loyalist party; pales were broken down, and the deer and timber sold. But ample retribution was visited on the Roundheads at the Restoration. Since then, nevertheless, the number of parks has greatly diminished. I am indebted to Mr. Shirley's work for an account of

the parks in this county ; and this will probably be the best place to introduce them to the reader, if he will excuse this temporary digression from the affairs of the forest proper.

Feckenham park was a very ancient royal one, and was sold by the Crown to Lord Keeper Coventry in the 17th century. I have no account of its disappearance.

Tickenhill (royal) Park, at Bewdley, comprised about 400 acres in the time of James I., and contained 3,500 old trees, with nearly one hundred head of deer ; it was disparked at the "rebellion."

The Bishops of Worcester possessed three parks in the county—Hartlebury, Alvechurch, and Blockley. Hartlebury (the episcopal seat) contained eighty-six acres at one time, but was disparked in 1841, when the late bishop declined any longer to keep deer there. Alvechurch park, where the bishop had a manor-house, was converted into farms long before Nash's time. At Blockley, where was another episcopal manor-house, the ancient park is still indicated by the name Park-lands Farm, on a hill opposite the vicar's garden. The present Northwick Park, at Blockley, was probably enclosed early in the last century ; it contains 290 acres, with a large herd of fallow deer.

Hallow Park belonged to the priory of Worcester, and afterwards to the see. Queen Elizabeth hunted in it on the 18th August, 1575. Her Majesty rode to the park (then belonging to Mr. Abyngton) on her palfrey, and with her bow killed one buck and struck another, when she called for Mr. Abyngton, asking him how many bucks were killed, and when he replied "Two," her Majesty ordered that one should be sent to each of the two bailiffs' (mayors') houses in the city. The maiden queen was not so successful at Battenhall, where was a park belonging to the prior of Worcester (still commemorated on its city side by the name of

Park-street, &c.). Her Majesty rode thither intending to hunt, but finding game very scarce, she returned without hunting at all. It is amusing to note what kind of sport royalty was satisfied with in those days. It is on record that Elizabeth honoured Viscount Montague with a visit in 1591, at Cowdray, Sussex, and riding in the park there at *eight o'clock in the morning (!)* had a cross-bow put into her royal hand "to shoot at above thirty deer which were put into a paddock," her Majesty being stationed in a bower erected for the occasion, just opposite the poor victims!

The abbots of Evesham possessed several parks in the county. Shrevell Park, Bengeworth, was enclosed by Abbot Chiriton early in the fourteenth century; after the dissolution it was granted to Sir P. Hoby, but has long disappeared. In 1376 Abbot John de Ombresley obtained a patent from the king to impark his wood of Lineholt (300 acres) within the manor of Ombersley, which remained with the abbey till the dissolution. At Offenham a manor-house and park also belonged to this abbey, for Abbot Norton, in 1483, provided that on the day of his anniversary the brethren should have one doe from the deer park of Offenham, with wine from the cellar of the abbot. The park is still clearly defined by a broad fosse and bank, known as the "deer's leap," before mentioned.

The abbots of Pershore had also their park at Goldicote, in the parish of Aldermaston, but no park is believed to have existed there since the Reformation.

Within the limits of Malvern Chase were formerly Hanley and Blackmore Parks. Hanley was disparked long ago, and at Blackmore there is no recollection of any deer having been kept. At Severn-end, the seat of the Lechmeres, was a small park in the last century, disparked about 1790, and the deer sent to Ludford in Herefordshire.

There was a park at Mathon, which belonged to the Beauchamps and Lygons.

Croome Park and grounds, enclosed early in the last century, contain about 1,200 acres, and a herd of 400 fallow deer.

Strensham, the ancient park of the Russells, long ago disparked.

Bushley, a large park here belonged to the Clares, Earls of Gloucester, the Despencers, the Earls of Warwick, and the Bishops of London. There was a manor in the parish attached to the Abbey of Tewkesbury, which was also exempt from the forest laws.

At Redmarley a park belonged to the Beauchamps, and afterwards to the see of London. The Park Farm House still indicates the former existence of the park.

A free warren was granted to Robert de Staunton 17th Ed. III., and a license for his park of Hawkeshurne in Hawgrove.

Elmley Castle park still remains, containing 105 acres and from sixty to seventy fallow deer. It is probably an ancient park, and contains the site and moats once belonging to a Norman castle.

Hanbury Park, enclosed late in the seventeenth century, contains 130 acres, with a herd of 184 fallow deer. Of this place Abingdon reports—"Neyther wanted theare for recreation of our kynges a fayre park, though in thys parishe is styled Feckenham Parke, sortinge in name with the kynges vast forrest reachinge in former ages far and wyde. A large walke for savage beastes, but nowe more comodyously changed to the civil habitations of many gentellmen, the freehouldes of wealthy yeomen, and dwellinges of industryous husbandmen. The Bishop of Worcester was heere lord and patron, but had not, as far as I can yet see, charter warren, because beeinge in the myddest of the kynge's forrest it might have byn prejudiciall to hys game."

In 37 Henry III. a license was granted to Simon de Wanton for a park at Bradell or Bradele (Stock and Bradley?) within the forest of Feckenham, but nothing more is known of it.

20 Ed. I. William de Valence had a license to impark a certain preserve and eighty acres on either side to increase his park at Inkberge (Inkberrow), also in the same forest. There is mention still made of Knighton park, in this parish; and at Egiock, or Eggeoke, dwelt a family of repute, known by that name, who were regarders of the forest of Feckenham.

Beoley Park belonged to the Sheldons, and was probably disparked in the civil wars, when the house was destroyed. It still goes by the name of "The Park."

Bordesley Park, near Redditch, and still so called, was said not to have been ancient. There is also the fine park at Hewell Grange, near the same locality, but with its antiquity I am not acquainted.

Grafton Park, near Bromsgrove, belonged to the Staffords and Talbots, Earls of Shrewsbury.

Westwood Park is about 200 acres, with 100 head of deer. It does not occur in the ancient surveys, but is believed to have been long established.

There was a park at Hagley as early as Edward III., but it was for ages disparked, and restored by Sir C. Lyttelton about the year 1694; it contains 220 acres and about seventy fallow deer.

Great Witley Park was in existence in the sixteenth century; it contains 400 acres, and the late Lord Foley's father planted the young woods which surround the park, about 200 acres more. There are several hundred fallow deer in the park.

At Abberley was an ancient park, long ago disparked.

Stanford Park was formed early in the last century, and disparked about 1790. There were also parks at

Ham Castle and Eastham, the former belonging to the Jeffreys family, and disparked at the close of the last century; at the latter a farm called Park Farm still exists.

Kyre Park, enclosed by John Wyard *temp.* Edward II., the royal charter for which is still in the possession of the Childe family, is said to have contained 500 acres, but in Nash's time only 180. Abingdon mentions the tall and mighty oaks therein as scarcely any park in England could surpass, and some of them believed to be coeval with the formation of the park. It was disparked a few years ago.

Sutton Park, near Tenbury, was the seat of the Actons *temp.* Henry IV., and afterwards passed to the Lucys.

Spetchley Park contains 130 acres, and 170 fallow and some red deer; it was enclosed in the time of Charles I.

Of the parks now enumerated throughout Worcestershire about a dozen were in the area of the forest of Feckenham, but several of these were not in existence till after the cessation of the forest laws; the park enclosures therefore bore but a small proportion to the extent of district over which the forest law despotically ruled; and so far as the public were concerned it mattered little whether forest or park—the land was not theirs, and the Norman took care that, whether for profit or amusement, it should be all his own. In Saxon times the king had only reserved to himself the right of hunting in the royal forests, permitting his subjects to enjoy the sport on their own grounds; but the Norman Conqueror assumed to himself the exclusive right of hunting, and very sparingly granted the privilege to some of his greatest nobles, both lay and clerical. For ages the right of hunting in the royal forests was guarded with the utmost care, and the privilege of taking game was the subject of royal grants.

It was not till the time of Queen Elizabeth and the subsequent reigns that the ancient Saxon privilege of hunting on their own grounds was restored to the people, and even then the sovereign seems always to have claimed and exercised the right of hunting and shooting in the subjects' parks during the royal itineraries. The keepership of a royal park, with its herbage and pannage, its sports, and the power of patronage thereto belonging, was a prize eagerly sought after, and many younger brothers became keepers of the family park, and lived at the lodge. It has been already stated that men of position and good family became wardens of forests and park-keepers, and I find it recorded that in the year 1574 Henry Lygon was keeper to Lord Berkeley.

Beside the park enclosures, privileges and immunities were from time to time acquired by the Church and her monastic establishments; and what was gained by these out of spiritual considerations, working on the religious or superstitious feelings of the monarch, were sometimes purchased by other parties for the more tangible equivalent of good hard coin, or by some other service. "To be acquit of escapes" meant that the owner was privileged not to be fined if his cattle strayed unlawfully. To be "quit of footgeld" was not to be fined for having dogs unexpeditated. To be "quit of chiminage" was a discharge from chiminage silver, paid for passing through a forest, with the carriage of anything on horseback.

Worcester, Droitwich, Bromsgrove, Evesham, and Feckenham, were the principal towns within the forest whose history we are now considering, and no doubt the rougher portion of their respective populations frequently fell under the lash of the forest laws, administered perhaps, as in the case of William Shakspeare, by some Justice Shallow or other. The records of all such events were no doubt duly entered in the Swani-

mote books, but it never has been the good fortune of myself or any one else to discover one of these precious relics of the feudal ages ; nor has anything been handed down to us in reference to forest lore generally. The late Mr. Allies raised an argument from the fact of Robin Hood's name being applied to some trees and other objects, in one part of the forest, that the great outlaw must have been at one time a resident therein. But there is no tangible evidence to support the conjecture, as the name of Robin Hood, like that of the Duke of Wellington or Lord Nelson, may probably be met with on signboards or otherwise in every county in England.

A legend still preserved in the neighbourhood of Bromsgrove takes us back to the middle ages in connection with the forest of Feckenham ; and the old ballad relating thereto, which the late Mr. Allies produced in print, is entitled "The Jovial Hunter." One account says that Sir Humphrey Stafford, who was slain whilst fighting against Jack Cade, in the fifteenth century, and whose monument is in Bromsgrove Church, killed a wonderful wild boar that lived in an enchanted castle, and destroyed all that passed that way ; that he released the lady, whose effigy lies by him, from enchantment and the power of the boar ; and that he, as an act of piety, built the church in which he lies, and an abbey near it. The ballad gives another version, and celebrates the wondrous achievements of a "Sir Ryalas" (son of Sir Robert Bolton), as the "jovial hunter." It seems that the district was covered with woods, some of which could not be approached for fear of a frightful wild boar, until Sir Ryalas, inspired by the promise of a fair lady's hand, undertook the destruction of this sanguinary animal. The knight blew four blasts to the cardinal points, which of course the boar understood as a challenge, and having prepared for the encounter by whetting his tusks between his forefeet:

"Then the wild boar, being so stout and so strong—
Wind well thy horn, good hunter—
He thrash'd down the trees as he came along
To Sir Ryalas, the jovial hunter."

After a five hours' deadly conflict—he must have thought it a *bore*—the knight gave his opponent a quietus.

"Oh then he cut his head clean off—
Well wind thy horn, good hunter—
Then there came an old lady running out of the wood,
Saying, you've killed my pretty spotted pig,
As thou art the jovial hunter.

Then at him this old lady she did go—
Well wind thy horn, good hunter—
And he clove her from the top of her head to her toe,
As he was the jovial hunter.

In Bromsgrove churchyard this old lady lies—
Well wind thy horn, good hunter—
There the wild boar's head is pictur'd by
Sir Ryalas, the jovial hunter."

From this circumstance, it was alleged, Bromsgrove was formerly called Boar's Grove; but the name appears to have been a fiction to suit the legend, for the town was called Bremesgrave in Domesday Book; but about two miles to the east of Bromsgrove there is a place called Burcot, or Boarscot, which, while also forming a part of Feckenham forest, was said to have been much frequented by wild boars; and an old legend has been handed down in the district that the devil kept his hounds at Halesowen (*vulgo* Hell's Own), and that he and his huntsman, Harry-ca-Nab, riding on wild bulls, used to hunt the boars on Bromsgrove Lickey.

It has been already stated that the consumption of wood in the salt-works of Droitwich was the principal cause of the destruction of Feckenham forest; it was at least coincident with two other causes, viz., the decline of the feudal system and the introduction of

coal, which rendered unnecessary the preservation of such immense woods. Leland (in the time of Henry VIII.) says—"The lacke of wood is now perceived in places near the Wyche (Droitwich); for whereas in places neere about they used to buy and take their wood, the wonted places are now so sore decayed in wood that they be forced to seek wood as farre as Worcester, and all the partes about Bromsgrove, Aulchurch, and Aulcester. I asked a saulter how much wood he supposed yearly to be spent at the furnaces, and he answered that by estimation there was spent 6,000 loads yearly; that is yonge pole wood, easy to be cloven." Such a consumption as this, going on for centuries, must have been an immense drain upon the resources of the forest, but we see that in the time of Henry VIII. there were still some well wooded portions left in the neighbourhoods of Worcester and Alvechurch. At the last-named place Leland saw some good crops of corn growing while the woods were standing; in the last century the woods there were mostly stocked up, and the land turned into tillage. Many parishes within the forest were no doubt scarcely cultivated at all. For instance, we read in Domesday that the parish of Oldberrow belonged to the Church of Evesham, and that it had but twelve acres of land, whereas there are 1,185 acres in that parish. We must, therefore, consider that these twelve acres consisted of meadow or pasture, as that sort of land was generally counted by acres; and if so there was no ploughed land there, but the remainder consisted of a wood, which is said to have been a mile long, and probably a waste or wilderness. Perhaps a great deal of oak or beech furnished food for immense numbers of swine.

Not long after Leland's time the scarcity of wood around Droitwich was so much increased as to elicit the following poetical lament from Drayton in his "Polyolbion":—

"Fond nymph, thy twisted curls, on which were all my care,
Thou let'st the furnace waste, that miserable bare
I hope to see thee left, who so dost me despise,
Whose beauties many a morn have blest my longing eyes,
And till the weary sun sunk down into the west
Thou still my object wast—thou once my only boast.
The time shall quickly come thy groves and pleasant springs,
Where to the mirthful merle the warbling mavis sings,
The painful labourer's hand shall stock the roots to burn—
The branch and body spent, yet could not serve his turn."

Drayton, however lover-like he addressed his verses to the forest as his mistress, nevertheless encouraged a little coquetting between his lady-love and the far-famed Clent hills, from the summit of which the northern margin of Feckenham forest might be seen in the distance. His lines are—

"Now back again I turn, the land with me to take
From the Staffordian heath as Stour her course doth make,
Which Clent from his proud top contentedly doth view,
But yet the aged hill immoderately doth rew
His loved Feckenham's fall, and doth her state bemoan,
To please his amorous eye whose like the world had none;
For from her very youth he (then an aged hill)
Had to that forest nymph a special liking still,
The least regard of him who never seems to take,
But suffers in herself for Salwarpe's* only sake."

Manwood, in his book on the forest laws, to which I am indebted for much information, complains of the general neglect of the said laws at the time he wrote (about 1615). He says that they were broken with impunity and the courts held but rarely, fines were not enforced, encroachments winked at, &c. "How lamentable (says he) a thing is it to see two great huge stags in one morning to be hunted out of the pouralleys in the heart of the forest, and there killed, spoyld, and caryed away, *by meane men of no accompt*, without any punishment for the same, and even when

* Probably the river so named, supposed to be a successful rival.

these wild beasts were unseasonable and nought worth; whereas if they had been suffered to live until the time of their season they had been meete to have showed *a prince* pastime and also meate for *a prince's dish*." It is difficult to say whether the lachrymose author laments the desecration of the forest rights more on account of the pleasure it gave to the *profanum vulgus* or the injustice thereby done to the great men of the land, whose sole right it was to sport with the beasts of the earth. But the system was now rapidly drawing to an end, and after dwindling through the reign of the Stuarts it expired. The last "Court of Justice Seat," of any note, was held in the reign of Charles I., and after the revolution of 1688 the forest laws fell into total disuse, to the great advantage of the subject.

Feckenham forest, however, was disafforested as early as 1629. A commission was appointed to enquire what part of it belonged to the king and what to his subjects, and to allot accordingly. His Majesty (Charles I.) was pleased to say that this disafforesting was for the benefit and ease of his loving subjects, at the same time admitting that it was for the improvement of his own revenue and diminishing his charges. Sir Miles Fleetwood, receiver general of the Court of Wards and Liveries, was empowered to make surveys of the forest, and to treat with all parties interested in any part of the said forest, or who could claim a right of common, or who were owners of the soil or woods. He accordingly treated with Edward Leighton, lord of the manor of Feckenham and Hanbury, to release to the king all his right of common, and to agree to the disafforesting. He was to have in return 80 acres of land in Monkwood, to him and his heirs for ever, to be freed from the king's deer and all other manner of common whatever; and he was to have in Feckenham the Queen's Coppice,

the Ranger's Coppice, the Timber Coppice, Fearful Coppice, and Red Slough Coppice, being 360 acres, to him and his heirs for ever; and he was to release to the freeholders and commoners in Hanbury and Feckenham all the forest land or waste or use of common in both parishes.

There are but few traces left of the ancient forest. At Feckenham, where the prison stood on a four-acre piece of ground near the church, the ditch that surrounded it is still plainly perceptible, and other memorials of the forest are likewise in existence in various parts of the parish, such as "The Forest Farm" and "The Forest Lane." There are many parts of the district which, like the Lenches, are still distinguished by their woodland features, affording fine natural covers for game, and some of these are no doubt successors if not genuine relics of a system which, like our monasteries, our castles, and our wooden navy, is for ever departed.

FOREST OF OMBERSLEY.

The boundary of this forest also commenced at the Foregate of Worcester, and passed along the western side of the king's highway to St. Mary's, Droitwich. It is probable that the forests of Feckenham and Ombersley were separated only by this highway for a considerable portion of their outline, but whether the laws of the forest or the common law prevailed on this line of separation, on which our forefathers passed to and fro daily, no record saith. From Droitwich, the boundary of Ombersley forest passed many places the names of some of which are now so obscured by the lapse of time and change of language that I doubt whether they can be identified. First, it passed down Runestrete, or Ruine-street, which was afterwards called St. Andrew's-lane, thence to Lichbrugge, along the great road to Lechenebrugge, and from thence

along the same road to the way called Godinesway as as far as Pukemuln, and from thence directly along the same road to Tuffethorn, Howard's Well, Brunstane's Pytt, Wythstanes Pyrie, Fulford, Rushock Broadford, Torelinton, north of Hartlebury, and all along the same road to Saleweiesmuln, and the water of the Stour, and so down the Stour to the river Severn, and along its eastern bank to the starting point at Worcester. Ombersley, the village from which the forest took its name, is said by some fanciful author to have first derived it from Ambrosius, as being the site of some camp or scene of action in which that victorious prince defeated the Saxons; he having marched from York (through Worcestershire, as is supposed) to Winchester. However that may be, it is recorded that in ancient times Ombersley belonged to the abbey of Evesham. Ethelward gave twelve cassats of land here to the church, free from all tribute, unless when there should be a great year of acorns, when one herd of the king's swine should have feeding in an island belonging to the said lands. Besides Ombersley (where no doubt the foresters held their courts and imprisoned offenders either there or sent them to Worcester), and the numerous hamlets of Ombersley, the principal parishes and places in this forest were Claines, Martin Hussingtree, Salwarpe, Westwood, parts of Droitwich, Doverdale, Hartlebury, Rushock, and Stourport (the last-named town not then in existence). The boundaries of the two forests, as respects Rushock, Hartlebury, Hampton Lovett, Elmbridge, and Elmley Lovett, are not clearly defined. It will be observed that the population which flourished within the area of Ombersley forest lived only in villages, not one ancient town existing in the district, and but two or perhaps three parks—Lincholt, Hartlebury, and Westwood—included therein. Saving the presence of the Lord Bishop at Hartlebury, the country lying within

Ombersley forest was the least important part of Worcestershire, inhabited by thinly scattered families, singly or grouped in widely distant villages, chiefly dependent on the simplest of agricultural pursuits on the banks of the Severn or Stour, or engaged in the woods, either as servants to the foresters or in rearing and feeding of swine. There is not a scrap of history extant, that I know of, relating to the proceedings in the courts of this forest, nor of the life and doings of its inhabitants; which perhaps may be accounted for from the fact that the forest came to a somewhat untimely end. It seems to have been swept away soon after the granting of the Carta de Foresta by Henry III., as early as 1229; but as this was a little subsequent to the time when that vacillating monarch had revoked the charter, it would be a matter of surprise as to how the Worcestershire people residing in the Ombersley district succeeded in disafforesting it, only that a clue is afforded by the recorded fact that the Bishop of Worcester (William de Blois) and other owners of land in the forest or residents therein, in order to do away with the great nuisance of the forest laws, subscribed an aggregate sum of four hundred marks, which they presented to the king in return for a deed or charter, signed by him at Portsmouth on the 18th of October in the above year. Another proof is thus afforded that good things were not voluntarily conceded by our monarchs, but were usually wrested from them only when their necessities compelled the surrender. By the above-named charter liberty was given to enclose any part of the forest, to make parks, to sell woods and lands, to give free liberty and right of way, to abolish the liability to inspection or control of all officers or to be summoned to forest courts, freedom from lawing of dogs and all other restrictions and obligations of a forest. As this disafforesting was likewise granted at the same period for other forests in Worcestershire, which will

hereafter have to be described, we can easily picture to ourselves the delight occasioned to a large portion of the inhabitants of the county by the sudden cessation

THE DEVIL'S OAK,
NEAR SHERARD'S GREEN, MALVERN.

of those barbarous laws which had for ages pierced into their very bones and marrow, and at the restoration of liberties and privileges which we in the present day

esteem far too lightly, for the simple reason that we have never been deprived of them. And it will, I think, be considered an interesting circumstance in connection with the prelate (De Blois) whose remains were discovered a few years ago in the Lady Chapel of our Cathedral, that mainly through him were accomplished two great works, for which he deserved the praise of all posterity—namely, the addition of that beautiful limb which still forms the eastern end of the Cathedral, and the restoration of two large districts of the county to the enjoyment of their ancient rights and liberties.

FOREST OF HOREWELL.

This forest began at the south gate, or Sidbury gate, of Worcester, to which point we have already traced the boundary of Feckenham forest; the king's highway only, it is probable, separating the two forests for many miles. And here it may be as well again to remind the reader that the actual forests, or the woods which composed their principal feature, may or may not have come up to the gates of the city. It is not improbable that at the first settlement of a population here they did so, but that in process of time large spaces around the city were cleared of timber for the requirements of the inhabitants. Along the high road to Spetchley the forest of Horewell passed, through the middle of the village of Spetchley, to Aston Episcopi (White Ladies), and including that village, along the road to Evedeford bridge, and so to a ditch that fell into Pidele water, and down that rivulet to Tuwelsbrugg, and so along the road to Throckmorton, and through the middle of that village along the great road without the village to Hull (Hill and Moore), to the great road that goeth between Worcester and Evesham; along that road to the ford in the river Avon, called Crauford, and down that river to Mue Wood, where, leaving the Avon, the boundary

passed by the side of that wood in a direct line to the Severn, at a point within two or three miles of Tewkesbury, and so up the Severn to Worcester. Pershore was the only town within this area, all the rest being villages, and the population would probably be of a similar class to that in Ombersley forest, the meadows and fine pasturage afforded by the banks of the Severn and Avon encouraging the cultivation of a pastoral life and the breeding of cattle, as the woods gave shelter and pannage to swine. I know of but three ancient parks in this forest, namely, that of Elmley Castle (presuming that parish to have been within the forest boundary), Strensham, and the prior of Worcester's, at Battenhall, near this city. The records are quite as scanty of information as in the case of Ombersley forest. In the Augmentation Office was a composition between the abbot and convent of Pershore and the abbot and convent of Westminster, by which the former were to receive all the tithes arising from within the enclosures of Henry de Harley, where some lands had been lately cleared, but to renounce all claim to those arising from assarts, or grounds lately cleared without the said fence, being taken from the wood of the abbot and convent of Westminster. This probably referred to some place in Horewell forest, but the name is not mentioned. The name of the forest was perpetuated in Harewell or Horewell Wood, in which the parish of Earl's Croome had formerly the privilege of holding a fair annually on the feast of St. Lawrence. This was a spacious wood in which the priory of Malvern had lands. The same process which disafforested Ombersley also freed Horewell from the despotism and cruelty of the forest laws, and the district was handed over to the common law in that memorable year 1229.

MALVERN FOREST OR CHASE.

> "Cultured slopes,
> Wild tracts of forest ground, and scattered groves,
> And mountains bare, or clothed with ancient woods,
> Surrounded us; and with the change of place,
> From kindred features, diversely combined,
> Producing change of beauty, ever new."

Scarcely second in importance, though considerably smaller in extent, than the forest of Feckenham, was the forest and chase of Malvern. As before stated, it extended from the river Teme on the north to Corse forest on the south, and from Severn on the east to the top of Malvern hill on the west. From the earliest historical period the Malvern district was so overrun with wood as to be called a wilderness by William of Malmesbury; besides which, in the plain between the hills and river, especially about Longdon, was a wide expanse of marsh, a large portion of which has only within our own time been enclosed and subjected to beneficial cultivation. Indeed so free was that part of the country from enclosure of any kind that it is said almost down to the close of the last century a person could have ridden on horseback from Malvern to Bredon, and found no impediment—barring the river, which could be crossed at Upton bridge. It is with some difficulty we can now realise the condition of the wild waste, the marshy, woody wilderness between the river and the hills, or properly estimate the feelings and the courage of the hermit Werstan, who in Saxon days, impelled by celestical vision, fled from troubles and temptations, penetrated the forest, and on the eastern slope of Malvern hill constructed an oratory, which led to the subsequent foundation of an important Christian institution, after the poor hermit had sealed his faith with his blood, shed by heathen miscreants. The forest, of course, was a royal one: all forests necessarily belonged to the

sovereign, as he alone could appoint justices in eyre and the holding of courts which were necessary for the administration of forest law. When a royal forest was granted to a subject, it at once changed both name and character, became more under control of the common law, and had a different class of officers. In this way Malvern lost the name of a forest, having been presented, together with Corse forest, by Edward I., to Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, or, as he was otherwise denominated, the Red Knight, on the occasion of his marriage with Joan D'Acres, the king's daughter. From thenceforth Malvern forest was called a chase, and Corse a lawn. A chase was something between a forest and a park, but it was not enclosed like a park, and was much larger in extent, had more variety of game, and more officers; it also contained wild beasts of the chase as well as deer. Indeed there may have been wolves in it, as we know the Corbetts were empowered to destroy those animals in the same reign when Malvern forest became a chase.

Leland states that the chase of Malvern was "bigger than either Wyre or Feckenham, and occupieth a great part of Malvern hills. Great and Little Malvern are also set in the chase, which is in length in some places twenty miles, but doth not occupy all the Malvern hills." This comparison with the forest of Feckenham of course refers to the period after the latter was reduced to its ancient dimensions. Soon after Gilbert de Clare had received this princely gift he apparently wished to enlarge its dimensions, and laid claim to the chase on the western slopes of the Malvern range, which had belonged to the Bishop of Hereford. In accordance with the custom of that day, the dispute could only be settled by combat, and as bishops then kept champions, the representative of the Bishop of Hereford was prepared to do battle in the lists if need were; but a jury, composed of men drawn from the counties of

Worcester and Hereford, decided in favour of the Church, and a trench of separation between the two possessions was made along the ridge of the hill, where it remains a memorial of the contest to the present day.* Dr. Thomas states that the trench was made by the Earl of Gloucester because the deer and other beasts frequently crossed the hills from this county into Herefordshire and did not return. This statement does not invalidate the former one, which seems to be authentic, as being obtained from Bishop Swinfield's roll, edited in 1853. By other authorities, however, it is called a "shire ditch," or rather a shire ditch is mentioned in connection with the chase; and there was a regulation made by the "law-day" and court of Hanley in the year 1540, ordering that "none of the inhabitants of Colwall or Mathon do from henceforth staff-drive any kind of their cattle into the chase further than the shire-ditch, after the old custom, on pain of 20s., and that none of the said inhabitants do cross any of the chase wood growing on this side of the shire-ditch over the hill, upon pain of 20s." No doubt De Clare's trench and the shire-ditch were one and the same thing. Another version of the same story is this, that the Bishop of Worcester had lands in this forest, in one portion of which, near the mill at Wenland (Welland?), he had liberty granted him to assart, *i.e.*, to clear away the wood for three hundred acres for the use of the church of St. Mary (the Cathedral) at Worcester; and the said land was to be free from all exactions of foresters. Some of the bishop's lands, however, were encroached upon by the trench on the top of Malvern Hill made by the Earl of Gloucester, and a dispute arose, which, by the mediation of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, was ended by the earl consenting to pay

* About the same time the Bishop of Worcester's champion vanquished the champion of Philip de Stok in a contest for the bailiwick of Hembury.

yearly to the bishop and his successors a brace of bucks and does at the bishop's manor house of Kempsey, or, if the see were vacant, the prior and convent of Worcester could legally demand the same acknowledgment by their attorney, at the castle of Hanley. On these conditions the bishop, with assent of the prior and chapter, granted that the said fosse made by the earl should continue for ever. This appears quite as circumstantial an account as the former, and I am unable to say which is correct, or whether they do not refer to two events. It is however a fact that the deed executed by the bishop and the earl for payment of the bucks and does is still in the possession of Sir E. H. Lechmere.

Hanley Castle was what might be called the "capital" of the forest or chase of Malvern. Here lay part of the estate of the Earls of Warwick, the renowned "king makers," and not far from the Severn stood one of their castles. It was a large quadrangular structure, with a tower at each angle. It was long ago destroyed, and on the site is now a farm-house called "The Castle," some portions of the moats still remaining. In the reign of Edward I., Hanley Hall (now a farm-house) belonged to Gilbert de Hanley, as the forest keeper, but whether this was Gilbert de Clare, to whom the forest was presented, or a deputy of his, there is nothing to indicate. In another part of the same reign one Robert Calvestall is said to have held six acres of land in Castlemorton, by serjeantcy, for keeping the forest of Malvern. There was a sessions room for the trial of all offences committed in the forest, also a gaol and gallows; and "Hangman's Lane" still perpetuates the memory of this very fine old British institution. The name of Gilbert de Hanley is commemorated to this day by the name of a road here called "Gilbert's End."

In Lawson's "Records and Traditions of Upton-on-

Severn"—a most interesting and valuable little work—it is stated that early in the 16th century the yeomen in the neighbourhood of that town seem to have purchased or held on long leases portions of land on the borders of the chase. Old people tell us of a very ancient house in the field called Ravenhill, pulled down half-a-century ago, and asserted by tradition to have been the dwelling of "the gentleman as governed the chase." The chief ranger's abodes were at Eastington and Hanley; but one of the verderers must have lived near the town, and his old house was in an excellent situation for his supervision of the forest. It is difficult to account for the name of "Palace" having been bestowed on another place in the same neighbourhood. Some suppose that it is on the site of a much older building, and others assert that it was partly formed from the materials of the verderer's lodge. The name seems to indicate episcopal ownership; but, though the Bishops of Worcester had land in Upton, they had none within the chase; at one time they obtained permission to "assart"—*i.e.*, to grub up the trees and bring into cultivation 300 acres near Welland Mill, but it seems that this land was only leased or let, and not alienated altogether from the keeping of the lords of Hanley Castle. With the exception of a woodman's cottage here and there, and perhaps a small farm or two on the edge of the chase, this large country district was, in the time of the Nevills, quite uninhabited, save by the beautiful wild creatures, the stags, the hares, the squirrels, and the myriads of birds which found shelter in the forest. There are pleasant and lovely views now on Hook Common and Brotheridge Green, and from the Ledbury road,—views of a far-stretching and undulating country, rich with orchards and hedgerows, farms and hamlets, and bounded by the Malverns, and Bredon, and the Cotswolds. Three centuries ago there was little of this beauty of cultiva-

tion, but the scenery was exceedingly beautiful with a wilder sort of loveliness. There were great masses of foliage stretching for many miles, brightened here and there by lawns and commons of velvet-like turf ; there were avenues of noble trees, and little dells and valleys of greenery ; and round the forest pools, and by the margin of the brooks, ferns and wild flowers grew luxuriantly. There are oaks standing now which must have been saplings when the Red Earl ruled the chase ; and there is one superb elm which may have overshadowed "the king-maker" and his fair daughters as they rode by. For a long period the near neighbourhood of the beautiful forest was only an evil for Upton. As some old writer says, "He who slew a man might be forgiven ; not so he who slew a deer." The laws of the chase were stern and cruel, and those who broke them, from irresistible love of adventure, or from the cravings of hunger, were liable to death or mutilation. Many an Upton man must have stolen out in the moonlight nights to slay the deer in the recesses of the forest ; and not a few, detected in their poaching, may have been hurried to trial at the Rydd Green, and thence conveyed, with dismal procession, along Hangman's Lane, to the gibbet on the Malvern hills. By the time that the chase had again become royal property the forest laws were less strictly enforced, and certain privileges were allowed which materially bettered the condition of the poorer tenantry. The right of commoning enabled a labourer to keep a herd of swine, or half-a-dozen sheep, with less outlay than is requisite for the one pig maintained by his descendants ; though the latter is a far more portly and eatable creature than the lean animals which had little food but what they found for themselves.

By the fortunate care of Dr. Nash we have had handed down to us ample particulars as to the ancient liberties, royalty, and customs belonging to the lordship

and franchise of Hanley and the chase of Malvern. The lord of that lordship appointed the constable of the castle, the park-keeper of Blackmore, the steward, bailiff, and master of the game, four foresters, and a ranger of the chase, and was to have all snowfalls and tempest wood, which means timber that either fell or was blown down. There was a "law-day," or sessions, once a year, and a court baron every three weeks, to determine all pleas of trespass, debt, or detinue, not exceeding 40s.; and any tenant or inhabitant carrying his plea to any other court was fined 6s. 8d. The abbots of Pershore and Westminster, the priors of Great and Little Malvern, Lord Clifford for Severn Stoke, and the lords of Madresfield, Bromsberrow, and Birtsmorton, were free suitors at this court. These free suitors acted as arbiters, or an appeal court, and had power to reform the decisions of the law-days and other courts in all such matters as were done wrongfully to them or their tenants, "but this was to be done according to law and reason; and, if need required, these free suitors were to be of counsel (to plead?) at the law-day and other courts, and they and their tenants were to have the same freedom and liberties with the tenants and inhabitants of the lordship."

No sheriff, escheator, or other officer, had power to meddle within the said lordship. Like a host of similar places, it was an *imperium in imperio*, whose laws were administered by its own officers. The bailiff of Hanley was to execute and serve all precepts, and to return the same at his jeopardy. No warrant from a justice was to be obeyed or executed, but only the constables of the lordship were to sue and arrest and commit to ward. The foresters only had authority to arrest for felony and murder within the chase, and were to bring the accused before the chief forester, who had power to sit in judgment, as also to execute the office of a coroner. If the accused were found guilty

by the verdict of twelve men from the four nearest townships to where the crime was committed, his head was struck off with the forester's axe at a place called Sweet Oaks, in the said chase, where they always sat in judgment on such persons. Sometimes the body was carried to the top of Malvern hill, to a place called Baldeyate, and hanged on a gallows, there to remain till the chief forester gave a license for his removal. There was a limit over which this judgment extended; but as far as the franchise of Hanley reached, this power of judgment belonged to the constable of the castle of Hanley, and the accused was brought before the steward at Hanley, and there indicted: if guilty he was executed at Rydd-green. The chief forester held of the lord in fee by rent of an axe and a horn, and found boudsmen (one horseman beside himself and two footmen) to constantly perambulate the chase. He was sworn "to be true to the vert and the venison"—that is, to take due care of all trees and other green things growing in the chase, as well as the deer, &c. He could follow a commoner who was carrying away wood until he got so near to the commoner's house that he could put the length of his bow between the foremost oxen, drawing the timber, and the gate-post of the house. This meant that the forester could not arrest the offender after he had fairly landed the timber at his own door. If a man not a commoner felled or carried away wood the forester was to attach him and take him to the castle of Hanley, before the lord's officers; and if he found any one hunting or standing suspiciously—that is, stable-standing, dog-drawing, back-bearing, or with bloody hand (all which terms have been before explained)—he could attach and bring him to the castle, to be confined in the Bandbury Chamber there until he found sureties in the sum of £5. The forester could seize straying cattle, which, if not claimed in a twelvemonth and a day, were to be the perquisite

of the lord and the chief forester—two-thirds to the first-named and one-third to the latter. The chief forester, as coroner, sat in all cases of felony and murder, and "upon such as by instigation or motion of the devil slayeth or drowneth themselves wilfully or be killed by accident." Among the emoluments of the chief forester were these: he was to have "house-bote" and "hey-bote" (the right to take timber for the repair of fences and houses); he received the third penny of all attachments made in the chase (the third of all fines paid?), the croppings of all the oaks given by the lord, "all roots of trees and all such wood as shall be reasonably fallen at his own cost for the sustentation of the deer in winter, and also all windfall wood, except such as is considered timber, whereof the lord shall have 12ft. of the nether end; and the right shoulder of every deer killed in the chase, and the third penny of all extrahures, felons' goods, and forfeitures within the chase;" also the perquisite of certain hens at Christmas and eggs at Easter.

Besides the foresters there were verderers, viewers, and riders, who, by their tenure and holding of land, had power to ride and perambulate the ground soil and townships of every lord (of the manor) from Charmey's pool to Powick bridge and Bransford bridge, to oversee the highways and water-courses, and to take care that the hedges were properly made for the preservation of deer, for which purpose the verderers carried a staff called a standard, 2½-ft. long. This staff the bearer put over the hedge till it touched the ground on the other side, and if the highest part of the hedge was higher than his arm-pit the owner of the hedge was to be fined "according to the conscience of the said viewers"—a rather elastic gauge by all accounts. Also the aforesaid officers had the oversight and correction of the hombling of dogs (already explained), and all dogs found to be unlawful—*i. e.*, which could not be

drawn through a certain measure (sterop) of 18-in. and a barley corn in length and breadth, their farther joints of the two middle claws were to be cut clean away, and the master and owner of the dogs was to be fined 3s. 1d. If there was more mast than necessary for the tenants' and commoners' swine, the bailiff was to proclaim a "tack" in the nearest market towns, of which tack the lord was to have all the profits except the scoring penny of every one who brought his pigs, and which penny belonged to the bailiff. Every year, between Michaelmas and Martinmas, the bailiff was to "drive the chase" (*i. e.* collect all the live stock together), and if any "foreign" swine (not belonging to tenants or commoners) were found there, or pigs "whole-eared," the same were to be forfeited—two-thirds to the lord and one-third to the chief forester. If any deer broke out of the chase to feed in the manor of Hanley the keepers were to force them back into the chase without being charged with trespass, but the inhabitants of Hanley were not to kill the deer. Only Blackmore Park (being enclosed) was free from depasturing and feeding the said deer. Sometimes the said inhabitants were attached for fetching "windings" (*i. e.* windfalls of wood), or for killing deer which strayed from the chase into the manor of Hanley. The people of that manor had the right of depasturing their cattle in the chase during certain months, also common of eastovers—the right to gather fuel, but it appears that the windfalls belonged to the forester. (Is not this the origin of the saying, "He has had a good windfall," when a legacy or any good luck happens to a man?)

In the third year of Edward III. (1330), we read that William de Kerdif held the hamlet of Queenhill of the king by service of a "brach" yearly on the feast of St. John. "Brach" or "brachettus" was a little dog with a good nose for hunting hares and foxes;

and perhaps this kind of rent might have been reserved because Ripple lay near the chase of Malvern.

Gilbert, the only son of the Red Earl of Gloucester, was killed at the battle of Bannockburn, under Edward II., and the chase then passed to Hugh le Despencer, who had married his sister. Despencer lost his life in the troubles caused by the party who dethroned the feeble Edward; and Roger Mortimer, being a favourite with the queen, who had seized the government, may have had a brief possession of the Despencer estates, but the chase was restored to the lawful heir by Edward III. It then passed by marriage, after three generations, to the Beauchamps, Earls of Warwick, but returned to the Crown in the reign of Henry VII., on the attainder and confiscation of the Warwick property. With the chase, the manor and castle of Hanley, the parks of Blackmore, Hanley, and Cliffey, and the town of Upton, returned to the Crown. Then the castle gradually became dilapidated, and in Leland's time (16th century) it was in ruins; the chase also was overrun with squatters, and the commoners made havoc with the timber. Certain gentlemen called Benchers were accustomed to sit at Hanley Church for the reformation of disorders in the chase, but the palmy days of forests were drawing to a close, and the barbarous rule over those vast enclosures was being relaxed, in obedience to the growing popular will. Some dispute as to the boundaries of the chase seems to have arisen in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as in her Majesty's 32nd year, on the 18th of June, an enquiry took place at Hanley Hall, before Commissioners, Sir J. Russell (at that time chief forester of the chase), F. Kettleby, and T. Willoughby, Esqs., and among the evidence tendered was the following:—Henry Dingley, one of the riders of the chase, deposed that the circuit of its boundary was from the cross on Northend Green, Hanley, to Cliffy Wood and Severn Side, to "Eighteen Holders" in

Powick, to Bransford bridge, and to the Link ; and the keeper of Cliffy Wood rode with him from Cliffy's Gate to the Shewstone, and from the Sweetoaks to Welland, to Castlemorton, Birtsmorton, Berrow, and Keysend (a corruption of Chase-end), then to Oxbrummel Pool, all which parishes and places were in the precincts of the chase. Richard Edge deposed that the precincts and liberties of the chase stretched from the "shire-ditch" on Malvern hill to the middle of the channel of the Severn. And John Brown proved that the parishes of Hanley, part of Upton, Welland, part of Longdon, Castlemorton, Birtsmorton, Berrow, Bromsberrow, Great and Little Malvern, part of Leigh called Howsell, Mathon, and Colwall, were all within the precincts of the chase. Another account states that the chase extended to Upton bridge. Why this enquiry was instituted is not stated, nor its result, and we hear no more of the chase until the reign of Charles I., by which time much havoc had been done in the woods and among the royal deer. The king had intended to sell the chase as a means of replenishing his almost exhausted treasury when no supplies were to be obtained from his Parliament; but those who lived within the boundary of the chase, and had enjoyed the privileges of commoning, were furiously indignant at the proposed enclosure of their hereditary pasture grounds. Great riotings ensued, and many men of influence and ability advocated the cause of the malcontents. After some litigation and delay Charles consented to surrender two-thirds of the chase to the commoners, retaining the other third to himself, or to Sir R. Heath, his Attorney-General, and Sir C. Vermnyden (who is supposed to have purchased the king's part of the chase), his heirs and assigns; but the division of the territory occasioned several riots and disorders, in which the Bishop of Hereford, Sir T. Russell, of Strensham, Sir W. Russell, of Witley, and J. Horniold, Esq., were concerned.

The commoners alleged that Sir C. Vernmyden had exercised more than his rights; whereas he declared that the commoners had refused to allow him those rights which he had purchased of the king. In the seventh year of the king's reign a decree was made for disafforesting the chase, but some legal difficulties arising, the king's council (1632) ordered that "none of the lands of the said forest or chase being parcel of the said waste or commonable land, either called by the name of Malvern Chase or the Bishop's Chase, shall be taken in or enclosed, but only his Majesty's third part for the use of the said Sir Cornelius Vernmyden and his assigns, and that the other two third parts shall be left open and free for the freeholders and tenants and commoners to take their common of pasture and common of estovers therein, as heretofore they have been accustomed, with this express restriction and declaration, that no *mesne* lords of fees or manors whatsoever shall be permitted to enclose any of the two third parts of the said chase, or to fall the woods or trees growing or to be growing thereon, whereby the commoners may be hindered of their estovers." No new cottage was to be erected on the part allotted to his Majesty, nor any sort of house to which less than twenty acres of land were allotted, nor any new cottage on the two-thirds portion given to the commoners, but such as should be warranted by laws and statutes for the maintenance and provision of the poor. Great jealousy and apprehension at that time existed everywhere as to incurring liabilities on account of pauperism, and every precaution was taken to prevent the settlement of poor people in any locality, so that new cottages were scarcely ever erected, and the poor were frequently driven to herd together like beasts. Sir Cornelius Vernmyden, mentioned above, was a Dutchman, whose first connection with this country was a project for draining the fens of Cambridgeshire in the reign of James I. This plan

was not carried into effect, but he afterwards was completely successful in draining the level of the royal chase of Hatfield, near Doncaster. He was knighted in

GREAT BUR OAK,
BETWEEN POWICK AND BRANSFORD.

1629. About 1631, he took a lease for thirty years of the Dovegang lead-mine, near Wirksworth, and cut a drain from it to a river, to let the water off the mine,

whereupon it was said of him that he had given his "mother" (earth) the best and most natural physic in the world, for that which others had always attempted by violent and strong vomits (pumping up the water with engines) he had now effected with a gentle purge."

Thus two-thirds of the chase having been surrendered for the benefit of the parishes in which it lay, the adjoining town of Upton gained, as free land, nearly the whole of its present country district. There must have been a great downfall of the forest trees, a laying bare of lovely sylvan recesses, and a great store of firewood and timber for Upton hearths and buildings. The majority of the farmers' and country labourers' houses were erected at this time, and so it seems to have been throughout the tract of country which used to be the chase. Everywhere the dwellings are comparatively modern, or of the form and material which betoken the earlier half of the 17th century.*

The above decree was afterwards confirmed by Act of Parliament. Encroachments from time to time and Enclosure Acts have nullified much of this decree, and disputes have recently arisen as to certain rights, with which it is no part of my plan to meddle. It appears, however, that the rights of the commoners still remain as settled by the decree, and it is their own fault if they permit such enclosures to be made as we have recently seen on and about the hills. When the Worcester and Hereford railway was laid down some years ago the commoners obtained compensation for the land occupied by the line, and the money was deposited in the Worcester Old Bank.

With regard to the relics of the forest of Malvern, there are still remaining many woods and thickets, secluded pools in dingles, and other solitary places around and upon the hills, and grand old oaks and other trees,—

* Lawson's "Records of Upton."

"Old patrician trees
And plebeian underwood,"

in Colwall, Berrow Wood, around the Hollybush, the Ridgeway leading to Eastnor, Brockhill Wood, Cowleigh Park, Old Storage, and other localities,

——"Where the Druid oak
Stood, like Caractacus, in act to rally
His host with broad arms 'gainst the thunder stroke."

My veteran friend Mr. Lees—whose affection for natural objects will terminate only with his life—recently contributed an interesting paper to the "Transactions of the Naturalists' Field Club" on "The Forest and Chase of Malvern," with notices of the most remarkable old trees remaining within its confines. He says that at the present time but few extensive commons or wastes are left within it, and fewer still the vestiges of real forest ground. Little, if any, of the original forest, as understood by the term, now remains; for the woods that have been suffered to exist are composed either of bushy underwood that is felled every seven years, or of trees that are permitted to run up into thin lanky trunks for the supply of hop-poles. Near a fish pool in the middle of a pasture, that centuries ago formed part of a park belonging to the Bishop of Hereford, in the parish of Colwall, are two of the oldest oak trees anywhere about the Malvern hills, and known as the Colwall oaks. The largest of these trees has been much shattered, and has lost some of its finest branches. The extreme base of the trunk bulges out so remarkably as to measure rather more than 60 feet in circumference, imparting to the tree the appearance of being embedded in a great round cushion or mound of earth, but the trunk diminishes so rapidly, that, at a yard from the ground, it measures only 27 feet in circumference. The companion tree to this measures 45 feet round its swollen base. Mr. Lees considers it not at all improbable that these trees

are 800 or 900 years old. "Yet," he says, "900 years will not carry us back into Druidical times, and probably no tree now exists in the precincts of Malvern Chase that stood in its leafy amplitude at the invasion of Julius Cæsar." A peculiar form of pollard oak he mentions as standing in a field near the Severn, and is a characteristic specimen of what is called a bur oak. These oaks, it is said, may be occasionally seen in old hedgerows. Another tree, called the "Devil's Oak," near Sherard's Green, Malvern (of which he has kindly lent me the sketch which appears on page 209) shows a peculiar swelling of the lower parts of the branches, which, decaying, produces some grotesque appearances. The name of Devil's Oak, however, is said to have been derived "from some sweeps having been seen to emerge in the mist of an autumnal morning from its cavity, where they had been sheltering, and, as they disappeared in the fog, looked very much like young devils." Several other singular forms of oaks are mentioned, as for instance, that shown on page 225, which is a great bur oak between Powick and Bransford. In this case, after the tree has been frequently lopped, a crowd of young branches have grown on the upper parts.

A variegated oak, having its leaves blotched with white, now stands in Cowleigh Park. Many instances of gigantic and spreading yew trees are known, and there is a singular looking one standing on Conygree Hill, Bromsberrow. The base of the trunk is gnarled and twisted, and the branches are so numerous and thick that it is not easy to tell which is the main stem. It measures about 25 feet in girth, and its age is estimated at about 1000 years.

With regard to the lime, Mr. Lees says—"Some difference of opinion has been expressed by botanists and historians of forest trees as to the claims of the lime or linden to nativity in Britain, but in the shape

of Tilia parvifolia it occurs in so many woods and coppices in the Malvern country eastward of the hills that its claims as a native tree appear to be indisputable, though none of any great size can be noted in woods. But the lime is there mostly cut down as coppice wood, and few trees of any great age are suffered to stand. I have observed the lime abundantly in woods at the Berrow, in a wood at the eastern base of the Herefordshire Beacon, in High Grove, Mathon, in a wood on the Little Storrage, at Roseberry Rock, &c. By the side of Leigh Brook it forms bushes to some extent, and in woods and coppices about Leigh the lime appears with the character of Tilia Europæa. In the parish of Bromsberrow is a fine specimen of T. Parvifolia, standing where some roads meet near the Brownsend, and this is called the Brownsend Lime, but it has been planted evidently. Some very fine trees of Tilia Europæa now stand in a field about half a mile south of Bromsberrow Church, and by the side of the road leading from Ledbury towards Gloucester. Two of these, growing near each other, have become conjoined, both by the amalgamation of their arms and by a lateral junction at the root. The largest of these trees is 27 feet in circumference at 3 feet from the ground, and is 36 feet round the base; the other is 11 feet 3 inches in girth at a yard from the ground, and 19 feet in circumference at the base. The whole mass, if measured as one tree (and the interval between the boles where the connecting root joins them is only 19 inches), is full 48 feet in circumference. In a field on the Priory Farm, Little Malvern, are several large trees of Tilia grandifolia, but these do not belong exactly to forest times, having certainly been planted either by one of the priors of Little Malvern or some of his lay successors to the priory lands. The flowers of this species are larger and sweeter in scent than the common kind, and the pallid bracts are more evident. The leaves are not larger than

those of T. Europæa, but they are downy beneath, and the tree better deserves the trivial name of grandiflora, from its larger and more odorous flowers." A singular form of maple (Acer campestre) is mentioned as standing in a field at Powick, "which exhibits a very old, decayed, and hollow bole, from which a younger one proceeds, itself of considerable size, and spreading much beyond its parent. The girth of the combined boles near the base exceeds 14 feet, which is greater than has been before recorded of any English maple. It is estimated that the oldest portion of this tree is about 700 years."

Some of the Service trees (Pyrus torminalis) situated in the parish of Powick have indications of such a great age that it is said they may not unreasonably be referred to the period of the reign of Edward I.

The ash (Fraxinus excelsior) is a very widely-distributed tree, and some fine specimens exist in the neighbourhood of Malvern. One is mentioned which measured 36 feet round, and at 3 feet from the base the bole was 22 feet 2 inches in girth, the radius of the longest arm was 36 feet, and its height was 91 feet. In the churchyard at Eldersfield, also, some very large pollard ashes exist.

Mr. Lees also informs me that many years ago he was shown on the road between Droitwich and Feckenham a "blasted oak," being a most venerable specimen of the tree, probably 600 or 700 years old, and so hollow that for many years it was said to have formed a receptacle in which poachers, thieves, and robbers concealed their stolen booty. I am not aware if this tree is still in existence, but probably it was a relic of the forest of Feckenham, and I have no doubt that many other specimens remain in the districts once covered by the great forests of Worcestershire.

KINFARE OR KINVER FOREST

Was mainly in Staffordshire, taking its name from a small town there; it also included, in Worcestershire, parts of Pedmore, Hagley, Oldswinford, Chaddesley, Wolverley, Churchill, Broome, and Kidderminster. Part of Hagley manor seems to have been annexed by Henry II. to Kinver forest, as a perambulation took place in the reign of Edward I., and the jurors made a presentment to that effect, adding, that by King John's great charter these encroachments (the addition of Hagley to the forest) should have been redressed, but it is certain they were not so here, whatever was done in other places, till the 29th of Edward I. (1301), when the perambulators above-mentioned made their roll, for in the 14th year of that king the inhabitants of Hagley, Broome, Churchill, Old Swinford, Amblecote, &c, were fined for non-attendance at the regarders' court at Kinver. Kidderminster, being the king's property, was added to the forest in the same manner. A part of Arley manor was likewise for some time reckoned within the bounds of this forest, as appears by a perambulation roll *temp.* King John, and confirmed by the great forest roll of Edward I., by which we learn that it was afforested by Henry II. and disafforested by Edward I. by virtue of the Charta de Forestis granted by Henry III. It is stated in the roll: "The jury say that the town of Arley, together with the woods and the waste, were included within the forest since the coronation of King Henry, great grandfather to our Lord the King who now is. Another part of Arley, viz., Seckley Wood, was in 1270 allowed to be within the chase or forest of Wyre, as appears by a grant from Sir R. Mortimer to the Dean and Chapter of Lichfield, at that time proprietors of this wood, in right of the church of Arley, then appropriated to them. By this grant they were empowered to hedge in the said coppice

during the space of seven years, and to deprive the hogs of pannage therein. Agreeably to the custom which at this day prevails in several neighbouring manors, of enclosing woods lately fallen for a certain number of years to prevent the cattle of the freeholders from destroying the spring wood, the freeholders in general claiming a right of common in most woods throughout this country after the trees are of a certain growth." The inhabitants of Arley, time out of mind, enjoyed the right of pannage for their swine in Eymore Wood, in the parish of Kidderminster. In the latter part of the 16th century there was a great contest between Mr. Lyttelton and Lord Dudley respecting Prestwood Estate, in which the woods were cut and spoiled by Lord Dudley, who engaged large bands of men for the purpose. Mr. Lyttelton was a Papist, yet he lived in great friendship with his neighbours, and occasionally invited the bishop to hunt with him at Frankley. Those were days of lawless violence and episcopal wordly-mindedness. Kinver was disafforested soon after Ombersley and Horewell.

WYRE FOREST.

Of this Shropshire forest the portion which extended into Worcestershire was from Bewdley to Lymp Brook, four and a-quarter miles, and northward from Dowles Brook to Abberley on the south. It was remarkable for its great quantity of timber and large spreading oaks, and at present there are about 1,300 acres so covered with wood. The railway from Bewdley to Tenbury passes through the remains of this ancient forest, and affords to the traveller magnificent views of one of the finest pieces of woodland in the country. As the line is mainly on a level with the highest parts of the forest the eye frequently ranges over large portions of it, and occasionally you have peeps down into lovely glens, where the ground is clear of trees,

and Dowles Brook (which divides the two counties) runs prattling amid beautiful green oases. The sylvan picture is sometimes heightened by a heathy border when the gorse is refulgent with its golden flowers, and the autumnal tints are varying richly over immense masses of tree-tops, and here and there spotted by the darker foliage of the yew, while broad spaces are sobered by the brown and withered fronds of the eagle brake. Then you pass through cuttings, of umbrageous beauty and flickering shadow, overlooked by fine old members of the forest, peering down upon the railway travellers, as though desirous of ascertaining who and what they are who thus dare to intrude into the ancient solitudes of primæval Pan, sacred to the wood nymphs and the interesting male deities who usually consorted with them. At length you find yourself "pulled up" at some neat little station, with an inn hard by, and roads diving in various directions into the heart of the forest, with perhaps here and there a villa newly erected on some charming 'vantage ground, affording lovely views of wood and glen. I cannot imagine anything more pleasing than for a party of three or four naturalists to spend a few days at one of these places, and daily to explore different portions of this interesting district. In former years the Far Forest was a nursery for thieves and ruffians, and used to furnish more victims for the gallows than all the county beside. The late Rev. J. Cawood had much to do with civilizing the scattered population, and bringing them within the happier influences of religious ministrations. In mediæval times, when Bewdley was a sanctuary town, and the neighbouring forest was a hot-bed for highwaymen and murderers, this must indeed have been a neighbourhood most undesirable for residence, notwithstanding its great natural beauties. Until lately much of the forest belonged to the Crown, but now it has all fallen into private hands, except the mines and minerals,

which still belong to the Crown. The manor and manorial rights have been purchased by W. N. Marcy, Esq., and much of the land was bought by capitalists with the view of working the coal mines, but as these are reserved by the Crown there seems but little probability of such a result. With regard to the coal deposits hereabout—the product of former forests—I am informed that from the Clee-hills to the Severn there is a vast coal-field, now only pierced by a few pits, but which will probably be worked hereafter. No doubt the whole forest of Wyre has been at some distant period a vast upheaval of bog and morass, and is even now in some places, and in dry summers, little else than bog. How wonderful these mutations—forests upon forests—sea and dry land alternately, as the depressions and elevations of the earth are accomplished by agencies imperfectly known to us, but which are ever actively engaged in working the will of Him who hath made all things well. Should these mines hereafter be worked, and the cleared spaces of the forest built upon, the aspect of the country will be wonderfully changed. In this forest, till recently, stood the unique "Sorb tree" (*Pyrus domestica*), the only tree of the species believed to be wild in Great Britain. It was formerly the object of much superstition, and was used as a protection against witchcraft. The tree was wantonly burned down in 1862, and the only one of the kind now in this country is a specimen at Arley Castle, which was propagated from a shoot of the above tree.

Notes on Hagley.

ONE of the best and most serviceable measures ever adopted in this country for the promotion of literature and the elucidation of our national and social history was undoubtedly the appointment in 1869 of a Commission "to make enquiry into the places in which documents illustrative of history or general public interest, belonging to private persons, are deposited; and to consider whether, with the consent of the owners, means might not be taken to render such documents available for public reference." This Commission has published voluminous reports, containing descriptive lists of the treasures brought to light by its labours in many parts of the country. Amongst those in Worcestershire the collection of MSS. at Hagley are among the most important and interesting; they consist of—

1. Charters and grants from the time of King John, some relating to the abbey and church of Halesowen, with a cartulary (Ed. III.) and bailiffs' accounts for the abbey; and others to private property and individuals; a hundred roll of the borough of Halesowen (6 Ed. I.); and a roll of the taxation of the temporalities of the archdeaconry of Worcester (29 Ed. III.)

2. Letters and copies of letters of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, including those of Queen Elizabeth, Queen Anne (wife of James I.), Charles I., Charles II., King Stanislaus of Poland, Frederick Prince of Wales, the Duke of Monmouth, the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, Lords Clarendon, Chesterfield, Chatham, Walpole, Monboddo, and many other lords; Swift, Warburton, Pope, Thompson, Fielding, Garrick, Voltaire, Phelps, and Dr. Johnson; and those of several

generations of the Lyttelton family to their friends and contemporaries, with numerous love letters, both by ladies and gentlemen. Some of the letters of the 17th century illustrate the civil wars, while those of the 18th century are peculiarly interesting, a great number being addressed to George Lord Lyttelton, well known as the historian of King Henry II. of England. Some of these letters have been printed in Sir R. Phillimore's "Life of Lord Lyttelton," and other use has been made of them by Dr. Nash, the county historian; yet much remains that has never yet been published; and as the Lyttelton family have for centuries past been intimately associated with the public events in the history of this country we shall find abundant materials to reward our research. For the careful transcript of many of these letters and other MSS. we are indebted to Bishop Lyttelton (president of the Society of Antiquaries), who, about the middle of the last century, took the trouble to copy them fairly in handy little books, strongly bound.

3. A volume of extracts from the Tower records, from the original letters of visitors to the monasteries at the time of their dissolution, from Bodleian, Ashmolean, and Harleian MSS., and from the Close, Patent, and Liberate rolls.

4. A MS. volume on the reign and character of Queen Elizabeth, by George Lord Lyttelton; assuming the form of a conversation between Sir F. Bacon and Sir H. Wotton.

5. Miscellaneous books and papers; records of suits in the Star Chamber; log books and voyages; poems by George Lord Lyttelton; papers respecting the death of Thomas Lord Lyttelton in 1779, and relation of Miles Peter Andrews, formerly M.P. for Bewdley, about Lord Lyttelton's ghost appearing to him; and books, letters, papers, and reports, relative to South Carolina, Jamaica, and other of our colonies.

6. A thick MS. volume, supposed to be the first rough draft of Habingdon's collections for the history of this county (afterwards used by Dr. Nash).

From this multifarious collection of materials I have made such selections as are most likely to interest the general reader, dividing the subjects into—

1. Lord Dudley's Riots.
2. Family Differences.
3. The Earl of Essex's Plot.
4. A Model Lady.
5. The Civil Wars.
6. Love Letters, &c.
7. Hagley Park and Estates.
8. Monkish Tricks and Holy Relics.
9. Queen's Letters.
10. King Charles's State Jewels.
11. Ancient Customs.
12. The Duchess of Marlborough on Worcester Election.
13. Miscellaneous.

LORD DUDLEY'S RIOTS.

An instance of the lawlessness which prevailed in the country in the "good old times" is fully detailed in "articles of complaint" exhibited in the Court of Star Chamber, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, against Lord Dudley, on behalf of Gilbert Lyttelton. Nash has printed some of the papers, but that need not prevent a brief statement of the case here. It seems that Prestwood House, near Stourbridge (now the mansion of Mr. Foley), had been purchased of Lord Dudley by Sir John Lyttelton, the father of Gilbert, and some dispute arising concerning the property, on October 12th, 1592, Lord Dudley, in the night time, raised about 140 persons, who were armed with bows and arrows, forest bills, and staves, went to Prestwood and Ashwood, drove away a large number of sheep,

chased fourteen cows, one bull, and eight fat oxen ; took them to Dudley Castle, and kept them within the walls of that fortress. Three or four days afterwards Mr. Lyttelton sued replevins from the Sheriff of Staffordshire, but Lord Dudley's servants threatening to cut to pieces the bailiff named in the replevins, he refused to surrender the cattle, but killed and eat some of them, and sent others to Coventry to be sold, escorted by sixty men, strongly armed. The statement proceeds, in a manner not very intelligible, to the effect that when the cattle were gone about eight miles, Lord Dudley suddenly, in the night-time, raised the inhabitants of Dudley, Sedgley, Kingswinford, and Rowley, to the number of 600 or 700 persons, went after the cattle, and brought tham back to Dudley Castle, "where they wasted them all." Moreover, this armed mob cut down some of the woods at Prestwood, and behaved in a most disorderly and lawless manner. Mr. Lyttelton communicated with the Lords of the Privy Council, who wrote to Lord Dudley, requesting him to return the said cattle or the value of them ; but his lordship still refused to do so. Then "a bill of misdemeanour was drawn against him and eighty of his followers," some of whom immediately "ran out of the country," and others confessed their offences. When the matter was *sub judice* Gilbert Lyttelton's son John, who was in London, wrote a letter to his father in the country, which is full of judicious and shrewd observations on men and things, informing his father, specially, that if he meant to obtain extraordinary favours in regard to the said lawsuit he must pay an extraordinary price for them, "the friendships and favours of these times, and of great men, being proportioned to the reward, and measured by the commodity themselves receive." Lord Dudley was charged by Mr. Lyttelton with being a most unscrupulous man, and that, amongst other

things, he got the subsidy money in his hands, counterfeited the names of some of the justices on the commission, and without their knowledge returned the bonds taken to the Exchequer ; that he suffered Thomas Homes, his father's old servant, to die in the common jail of Worcester for his lordship's debts ; that he pawned to one Redman, a draper, of London, a copper chain, called "Sir Martin," and under his own hand warranted the same to be of the value of £60 ; and "that he left that virtuous lady his wife in London, without provision of sustenance, and took to his home a lewd and infamous woman, a base collier's daughter." It is stated that Lord Dudley, "by colour of borrowing Prestwood House, continued in wrongful and forcible possession for a long space, until removed by order of Privy Council." The contest for the possession of Prestwood lasted from 1590 to 1595, when "articles of accommodation" were drawn up and agreed to, from which, however, it is evident that Lord Dudley's claim to Prestwood was without just foundation.

FAMILY DIFFERENCES.

We now approach one of the most interesting episodes in the history of the Lyttelton family namely, the character and incidents in the career of John Lyttelton and Meriel his wife (daughter of Sir T. Bromley, Lord Chancellor *temp.* Eliz.) Bishop Lyttelton, who copied many of the Hagley letters and papers in the middle of the last century, speaks in glowing terms of this John Lyttelton, observing that his letters claim the first place in importance, and that "however unfortunate he was by his connection with the Earl of Essex, his superior abilities were such as to make one wish to be acquainted with all the circumstances of his life ; and surely nothing can give us, at this distance of time, so strong an idea, both of his

lively parts, his solid judgment of men and things, his exalted virtues as well as his unhappy failings, as his familiar epistolary correspondence."

It has already been mentioned that in his letter to his father Gilbert, respecting the Dudley claim, John Lyttelton evinced much judgment and knowledge of the world. These talents were soon after called into play by the extraordinary conduct of his father. A bill of complaint was exhibited in the Star Chamber by Gilbert Lyttelton against his son John and his other sons, alleging that on the 9th of April, 1596, his said son and heir apparent, with other persons (including Humphrey and Gilbert, natural sons of complainant), being armed with swords, bills, axes, &c., went to his house at Prestwood, and, after making fearful threats, swore they would cut down the doors and do great destruction unless certain grievances were redressed. On the 3rd of May following, Humphrey and Stephen Lyttelton, with seven other persons armed, went there again in a most riotous manner, drove nails and stones into all the locks that the doors might not be fastened; and on the same day the party was increased to fifty, when they compelled complainant to agree to certain articles they had drawn up; but still they kept watch, and for twenty days they prevented any access to complainant from his friends or servants, except such as they would allow of; and when Lord Dudley was coming to comfort complainant, and to advise the rioters to desist (mark how singularly the tables were turned!) Stephen Lyttelton, Humphrey Perrot, and Edward Marrow, went out armed against his lordship in hostile manner, reviled him, and called him "base and paltry lord," and threatened that when they had ended their business at Prestwood they would be revenged on Lord Dudley; and swore that if complainant set one foot on the stairs to meet Lord Dudley they would thrust their swords to his heart; by reason

of which Lord Dudley departed. A session was held on May 11th, at Wolverhampton, for the reformation of these great disorders, and many of the rioters were indicted there; but Humphrey and Gilbert, sons of the complainant, Stephen Lyttelton, Ed. Marrow, Humphrey Perrot, Wm. Barkly, and others, fearing they should be removed from Prestwood by course of law, provided muskets, calivers, and other guns, bows and arrows, &c., with intent to withstand the sheriff and justices, and took an oath to each other that if either of them were hurt in withstanding the sheriff they would presently kill the complainant. They also stripped and scourged some of complainant's servants, whom they suspected of delivering letters to him, and kept complainant prisoner in his own chambers from the 3rd to the 24th May, and at last compelled him to subscribe certain articles. Then they departed, and since that time the said John Lyttelton had entered into most of complainant's lands, taken away his goods and chattels, kept courts, and compelled his tenants to pay their rents to him.

So far Gilbert's story. *Audi et alteram partem.* The reply of John Lyttelton, H. Perrot,* W. Barkly, and J. Maynard, gentlemen, fully proved that the complainant was a bad and unnatural father. It was shown that John's grandfather had left his son Gilbert a great estate, which, however, he so mismanaged that defendant was compelled to interfere. Defendant, in the time of his grandfather, was engaged to marry Meriel, the daughter of Lord Chancellor Bromley, upon condition that some part of the Lyttelton estates should be assigned to him upon his marriage, and the necessary deeds for that purpose were prepared and signed by all parties. The marriage did not immediately take place, and meanwhile both Sir T. Bromley and

* Ancestor to the Perrots of Bell Hall, and steward to John Lyttelton.

the defendant's grandfather died. Afterwards the marriage was solemnised, but for some reason or other, not explained, his father took a dislike to him, and reported that he would give away or spend all he could to divert the property from the defendant. He also evinced his displeasure towards his own wife (defendant's mother) and two of his brothers, and would not admit any of them into his house or make them any allowance, whereby they became dependant on defendant's hospitality at a time when he was unable to support them in a proper manner. Frequently the father was entreated, but refused to maintain the honour of the family, and he launched out into a most extravagant expenditure, much diminishing the family estate. At length the defendant and others went to Gilbert's house to procure a reformation of the matters aforesaid, but made no use of the threats attributed to them; on the contrary, in the most dutiful manner they would have conferred with their father as to some provision he ought to make for his wife and children, with payment of his debts, and moderation of his expenditure. They declared that no force or violence was offered to any one, but on their father promising reformation the defendant requested his brethren to depart, which they did. His father, however, performed none of his promises, and subsequently, when defendant was in London, another family deputation paid a visit to the worthless man at Prestwood, but he refused to see them and withdrew into a private room. No riot, however, took place, nor was any violence done to defendant's father or to Lord Dudley (whose presence, nevertheless, they much disliked on account of the claim which his lordship had made to part of the estates). Defendant afterwards went to his father, and in the presence of Sir Edward Lyttelton and E. Newport, Esq., of Kinver, who acted as mediators, his father consented to certain terms, whereby defendant

was to pay him £500 a year for life, also to pay defendant's mother £80 a year, make suitable allowances to his brothers, pay his father's debts, and then take possession of all the family estates, except Prestwood, which complainant reserved to himself for life, also Frankley House, with the park adjoining, the tithe of Wolverley, and a few other considerable items. Accordingly, ever since that agreement defendant had received the rents, and dealt justly, lawfully, and dutifully by his father, and had even refrained from exercising his full rights, nor had he taken extreme advantage of the power he possessed. He had also visited his father at Prestwood on good terms, and nothing had been said or done contradictory to the agreement. The rents had been received by defendant without remonstrance or objection from his father; he had likewise paid some of his father's debts, and was ready to perform all that he had agreed to. Defendant therefore expressed his belief that his father had been influenced by George Lyttelton and other "very lewd persons of base condition," who sought indirectly to obtain some part of the family property. Defendant denied that his father had been compelled by terror or duress to execute the articles of agreement, nor was there any riot or foul speeches. And these allegations were corroborated by other witnesses. The decree in this case has not been found among the Star Chamber records, those papers having been all destroyed, as is supposed, during the Civil Wars; but it appears that the Queen interposed to settle this family dispute in an amicable way—a proof, one would think, that the defendant John had not sought to over-reach or dishonour his father. Indeed there is room to suspect that Gilbert was both a weak and a bad man, and probably jealous of his son's superior merit, whom Camden allows to have been much respected for his wit and valour. John Lyttelton was in high estimation

in this county, and was not only elected a Knight of the shire without opposition, but the nomination of the other Knight was left solely in his hands. His friend William Savage, however, declining to come forward, John Lyttelton would not nominate any one else.

Although John was a zealous Papist he lived in amity with his neighbours, and even invited the Bishop to hunt on his estate at Frankley. His brother Humphrey acted as his bailiff at Hagley and superintended the affairs of the estate and family, but was afterwards executed, for harbouring Stephen Lyttelton and Mr. Winter, two of the Gunpowder Plot conspirators. A letter from John to his brother Humphrey gives judicious advice how the latter was to act with regard to a quarrel which had occurred between Stephen Lyttelton and some persons named Rock, at Stourbridge; and in a letter to the said Stephen at another time he remonstrates with him against the habit of "resorting to market towns to haunt the fellowship and conversation of lewd base fellows, and accompanying them in their disorders, as being inconsistent with the reputation of a gentleman." Stephen was hanged in St. Paul's Churchyard for his share in the plot.

John Lyttelton's life was distinguished by troubles and difficulties; it commenced in a cheerless manner and ended tragically. Many of his letters refer to the family squabbles and lawsuits, especially a claim made by his sister Cornwayl to a considerable part of the estates, which claim was founded on a pretended deed or will of their father Gilbert, but which deed could never be proved authentic. The matter was litigated for many years, even after the decease of John Lyttelton; and at last his widow Meriel compounded matters by paying to Sir T. Cornwayl £2,600, after she had expended £1,000 in defending the suit.

THE EARL OF ESSEX'S PLOT.

The next thing to be investigated is that part of the career of John Lyttelton which was the principal, if not the only, blot on his fair fame—namely, his unfortunate connection with the treasonable conspiracy of the Earl of Essex, in the month of February, in the year 1600. Essex, once a favourite of the Queen, having been mortified by some disappointments, and jealous of the ascendency of others, rashly attempted by force of arms to remove Cecil, Cobham, and Raleigh, from the Queen's Councils; but being unsuccessful, was taken, tried, condemned, and executed. John Lyttelton was in the Earl's retinue which accompanied him from Essex House in a tumultuous manner into the city, and he was also proved to have had a number of horses and arms at his inn at the time of the insurrection. In his defence it was declared that he had no design against the Queen or Government, but merely a personal feeling against certain members of the Council. Lyttelton's estate, however, was so tempting a bait to a covetous Queen and to Sir Walter Raleigh, who was Lyttelton's worst enemy, that all advantages were to be taken against him; and although he was then dangerously sick, yet lest he should die before conviction the Queen commanded that he should be brought to his trial, at the same time pardoning others who were equally guilty but whose fortunes were not so considerable. Lyttelton bore his fall like a hero. In one of his letters he says that "to appease Sir Walter Raleigh by any base course I must not, and to bring him about by any such offer as my estate may conveniently perform is not probable, for where the whole is thirsted after a part will not satisfy." "But since it is not now to be disputed what was but what is to be done, and that hares must have horns if lions will have it so, I for my part must resolve to take such a

game as my fortune hath dealt unto me, and endeavour now to play the best of it. You will also ask opinion touching the point of standing mute upon trial, and what the law is in that case, and how it is to be handled."* His letter to Raleigh has been quoted as carrying in every line the strongest marks of a great mind, firm and unshaken under the deepest state of distress, for sad and hopeless as his situation then was he disdained to supplicate for his life or estate in terms unbecoming a gentleman. In this respect he contrasts favourably with his enemy, Raleigh, who, when afterwards in a similar condition, begged for his life in a very abject strain. Here is Lyttelton's letter :—

"To Sir Walter Raleigh, Knt.

"Sir,—It is not worthye the vertue and honor you professe to persecute persons fallen into misfortune. Yf hertofore you have borne me cawslesse displeasure nowe of all others is ye time leste seasonable to shewe it. Remember Sr what it is to be truly noble, and how it agreeth not with generous hartes to delite to trample upon dejected fortunes. It is nowe in your power to doe me good or ill offices ; yf you doe me ill you shall wronge your own reputation ; yf you doe me good you will give me cawse to be thankful. There is allready between your son and me one tye in blood and nature ; I coolde be contente you did nowe doble ye knotte with offices of love and friendship. To begge your favor (in ye state I stand) were too muche baseness, to refuse it were arrogancye and indiscretion, but to require you to doe me no harme is but justice, and that everey gentleman oweth of right one to another. What construction you will make of this, and what is nowe meete to be don, I must refer to your own judgmente, and so I end.

"John Lyttelton."

This letter is almost equalled by his valedictory letter to his wife, directing her to be mindful of the interest of certain of his faithful followers and friends, particularly Humphrey Perrott, "my honest, faithful

* The "standing mute upon trial" at that time subjected the prisoner to be pressed to death, and in cases of felony prevented the attainder in blood and the forfeiture of estate, but not so in cases of treason.

friend," and Gilbert Coningsby, and commending the education of her children to her loving care. He also alludes to a little painted casket "which contains certain letters not meet to be seen, but rather to be burned, that no dishonour or disgrace come to any person whom the same doth concern; for as my frailty hath been the occasion thereof, so would the publishing of these follies leave a spot and blemish on my reputation."

Then he takes leave of his dear wife in these affecting terms :—

"Yf ever you did offend me I freely forgive it you ; yf ever I did offend you with som fraylties, for of other falte towards you I am not guiltye, I praye you for God's sake forgive it me. I have ever reputed you a vertuous wife and I protest have regarded and loved you accordingly. Farewell, my dear wife, love my brothers, love my antiente and tryed friends, and be advised by them. Almighty God blesse you and all yours ; kisse them all from me, even the unborne, and the same God for his Son Jesus Christ his sake give us all a joyfull meetinge in heaven. Amen, amen, amen, for Jesus' sake amen.

"J. Littelton."

The prisoner was condemned, and being attainted, his estate was confiscated. This was in 1601. He died in the King's Bench, whither he was removed from Newgate. And here I appended a few notes with regard to his widow.

A MODEL LADY.

In the Hagley collection there are several letters from Meriel Lyttelton, a lady of exemplary life and excellent judgment, remarkable for piety and submission under heavy afflictions. She evinced great prudence in the training of her children, and by her sole interest with the Crown, she, in 1603, obtained of James I. a grant of restitution of the lands which had been confiscated. Her letters also indicate warm sympathy for the sorrows of others in the midst of

harassing cares in the management of her family and estates, and the litigation which beset it, likewise expressing her firm determination at all risks to obey the last requests of her condemned husband. Meriel Lyttelton has not inaptly been called the second founder of the family, and when she had obtained the restitution of the estates she sequestered herself from the public pleasures of the world and led a retired though not inhospitable life at Hagley for nearly thirty years after her husband's death, paying from time to time large debts incurred by him and his predecessors; and (as Bishop Lyttelton observes) to crown all her good works she brought up her children in the Protestant religion and thereby rescued them from that heavy yoke of error and superstition which from the Reformation to that time had maintained its ground in the Lyttelton family. At her decease she was buried at her own request in the centre of Hagley churchyard, among the poor people (obiit 1630). The portrait of this estimable lady is given in Nash's history of the county.

THE CIVIL WAR.

It appears that on the outbreak of the civil war in this country in 1642, the King, being at York on the 22nd of June in that year, the following instructions were sent to the Commissioners of Array for Worcestershire :—

"Instructions for our dearest sonn Prince Charles, for our right trusty & wellbeloved Edward Lord Dudley, Thomas Lord Coventree, & for the rest of the Commissioners in our Commission of Array for our county of Worcester.

"Charles R.

"Whereas we have named you Commissioners in our Commission of Array for the county of Worcester, & thereby given you severall powers for the arrayinge, traininge, arminge, leadinge, & conductinge of the inhabitants of our said county, as by our said commission which wee herewith send you appeareth.

"Our will & pleasure is & wee charge & require you that you or three or more of you doe forthwith send out your warrants to the Sheriffe of our saide county for summoninge of the inhabitants of our saide county according to the said commission. Nevertheless being unwilling in our princely care of our people to bring any increase of charge uppon them, we hope for the present it will be sufficient if only the antient trained & freehold bands of the county be summoned & trained, you takinge speciall care that they be well arrayed & the number supplyed with sufficient & able persons, & under the conduct of such captains as are persons of quality, having considerable estates & interest in the country, & not strangers, unlesse you find it shall be well pleasinge to our people, & for the necessary defence of the country, to make an augmentation of their armes.

"And you are to take notice that recusants being disabled in lawe to beare armes are to be asseased to finde armes for other men, & if their tennants that are Protestants beare armes you are to receive them.

"For the better knowledg of your perticuler dutyes herein, you are all to take coppies of these instructions, & to take transcripts of our said commission, the originall to remaine with one of those of the quorum; & of your procee ngs herein wee expect speedy & pleanary account.

"Given at our Court at Yorke the 22nd day of June, in the 18th yeare of our raigne."

On the 25th day of the same month (June, 1642) the King sent his commands "to our trustye & welbeloved Sir Thomas Littleton, of Frankly, in our county of Worcester, Knt. & Baronet," enjoining him to fail not to attend his Majesty personally forthwith whenever required, and upon his allegiance not to absent himself out of Worcestershire, or to suffer himself to be engaged, detained, or kept from giving his ready attendance on his Majesty upon any pretence whatever, or by virtue of any order or warrant of either House of Parliament, without special leave and licence of the King.

Sir Thomas's answer to this missive does not appear, but no doubt he had already offered his services to the King, through Lord Falkland. His letters, applying

for a commission to raise a regiment in Worcestershire, are addressed to two noblemen (not named) thus :—

"My Lord,—I am to this place confined for his Majesty's service by his command for ye peace of his subjects in this county, and confirmation of them in their duty and obedience; and when I look into ye condition wherein thanks be to God we are in these parts I cannot but think I might if it so please his Majesty be a little more profitably employed for his service here than I find that I now am, there being nothing that I see for me to doe but to assist in ye execution of ye Commission of Array, which by ye precipitate diligence of some and great negligence and slackness of others had at first ill successe. At Worcester the Commissioners meet to-morrow, and I hope we shall so dispose of ourselves and business as that it shall receive a new birthe, and become ye more eminent for ye former opposition, which may make my services appeare with ye clearer light. And now, my Lord, because I heare of so little likelyhood of a good end of these troubles, but what shall be made by force, and that therefore ye king hath given many commissions for ye raising volunteers in divers parts of the kingdom, I do renew my desires to your Lordship that you would move his Majesty that I may have a commission for raising a regiment of foot and a troop of horse out of ye counties of Worcester, Salop, and Stafford. I am very confident that I could raise here such as are very especial good men, and if it should happen that these troubles suddenly cease (which I heartily pray God if it be his will may be) then would they lye very conveniently for transportation into Ireland, where I could be well content to end my days in reducing those barbarous rebells. I have kept Captain Layton with me to his prejudice, hoping I should have imployment for him with me to do ye King service. I I beseech you credit him in what he shall say to you on my part, being one I may ingage my reputation for to be a man of truth & honour. My Lord, I desire if you please that you impart this letter to my Lord of Falkland, to whom I have now wrote, and in whose favour I presume that he will join with you in recommending of my desires & offers of service to his Majesty."

The other letter was probably to Lord Falkland :—

"My Lord, I shall expect a commissary with Captain Leyton to bring moneys for levying and paying of the soldiers and present entertainment of myself and officers, and that there be some convenient place assigned where I may receive

arms and munition for the regiment, without which my men will be of no use, the King's money lost, and my honour suffer. My Lord, I am put in good hope that I shall raise such men as will do the King good service, therefore I beseech you take it a little in your care that they may be supplied with those necessaries without which they cannot subsist. My cousin, Sir Harry Herbert, will do me the honour to be my Lieut.-Colonel, and this bearer is to be my Major, whom I request your Lordship to credit, and to give a speedy despatch, which is the life of the business. I came this day from Worcester, where I have been in the execution of the Commission of Array. This bearer, who was with me, can inform you of our success, and we have sent his Majesty an account thereof by letter to my Lord of Falkland."

A letter to Sir Thomas Lyttelton from Lord Falkland was received in July of the above year, stating that he (Lord F.) had acquainted his Majesty with Sir Thomas's letter, and found him very confident that by the industry and union of the well-affected to his service in Worcestershire, by the justice of the cause, and by the good example of other parts, his business would be very well restored; "in which he no way doubts but you will be very careful and active to encourage the well-affected, and unite them so that no little pique among themselves may be any prejudice to his service. And his Majesty desires that my Lord Dudley, my Lord Coventry, yourself, Sir H. Herbert (both whose readiness in it his Majesty believes, and is very well pleased with), and the principal of that commission would confer and lay things so before hand by way of discourse among yourselves, that you might with more certainty expect success when it is put in execution."

Next appears a letter from Sir Thomas Lyttelton, written to some other member of the Commission of Array—probably Lord Coventry—stating that Lord Dudley's ill health prevented his taking active measures for putting the said commission in force. In the instructions under which the commissioners were to act it was said they were to send their own warrants to the

Sheriff for summoning the inhabitants of the county according to the commission. But if the Sheriff was gone to London in obedience to the warrant of Parliament, to attend their commands, the writer puts the question whether the Under Sheriff has power to proceed in the business of his superior. He also states that his Majesty's service in Worcestershire had received some prejudice by the false doctrines Serjeant Wild and Mr. Solway had with much eagerness preached, and which therefore required more industry and caution on the part of the commissioners. Lastly, requesting his Lordship to fix the following Thursday or Friday evening for a meeting of the commissioners at Worcester.

The result of the meeting alluded to in Sir Thomas Lyttelton's last letter appears to have been the adoption of the following resolutions:—1. "That Sir Thomas Littelton be colonell of the trayned bands & of the volunteers now to be raysed. 2. That the whole trayned bands be sum'oned to appeare before the Com'isioners at Droitwich upon Thursday next, being the 15th of this month. 3. That a letter be sent to the High Sheriffe to desire him to send out his warrants as formerly to the high constable for the trayned bands appearance to bringe in supplies, & to amend all defaults of their armes, & to intimate who is to com'and them in chief (1) Sr. Tho. Littleton. 4. That the voluntiers be allowed 5s. the weeke as longe as they remayne in the county, & afterwards such pay if they be drawne forth of the county as the King gives. 5. All officers to have the same pay as the King gives. 6. The Colonells company 200 men, Lieutenant Colonell & Serjant Major companies 150 each company. 7. The pay for the voluntiers to be for a month. 8. How to get amunition & powder, and that Mr. Lilly of Bromsgrove be com'anded to attend the Com'issioners concerning the account of a tun & half of leade. 9. That a

tresorer be appoynted for the regiment, to issue forth the monies according to the Colonell's directions."

The sum of £704 18s. was assessed on the county monthly to satisfy military requirements, and among the county parishes Hagley and Frankley complained of being unfairly assessed for their share; but the county assessment seems to have been soon increased to £3,000 monthly, as will appear from the following document:—

"Wee of ye grand inquest representing ye body of this countie do as far as in us lieth resolve & agree unto these propositions following. First, as an humble testimony of our ready and faithfull hearts for ye preservation of his Majesty's person and our countries security we do condescend & agree to continue if necessitie require ye contribution for seven months more at £3,000 per mensem to his Highness. Pr. Rupert's orders, desiring that we may have ye benefit thereof granted unto us, that is to be discharged from all free quarters and receive satisfaction from ye treasurer of ye countie for all our lands, goods, & provision, that shall be taken from us & imployed towards ye maintenance of ye forces raised for ye defence of this countie. And we desire that a considerable number of soldiers may be raised & mustered for ye safe guarding of ye countie. And if it shall happen that ye forces be drawne from ye counties servise, then ye countie contribution to be diminished. And if any excise shall be laide upon our countie then to cease. And concerning raising of newe forces, we desire you would be pleased to appoint a time for ye gentry of ye whole county and three or more of ye chiefest men of every parish to meete and consult for ye present preservation of the countie, & that warrants may issue forth by ye Clerke of ye Peace to ye High Constab. for ye purpose forthwith. And that ye £3,000 per mensem shall be imployed towards ye maintenance of ye soldiers and ammunition & no other use. We do likewise humbly desire that such officers and receivers of moneys that belong to these new fortifications may be called to an exact account what moneys they have received & likewise what work is done & by what divisions of ye county it hath been performed. And we further desire that every day's work with a teeme and two followers may excuse six labourers. We do likewise desire that ye garrisons may be seated upon ye frontiers of ye county and in such places where ye enemy does most infest us, & to be removed as necessity shall require,

whereby contribution in these parts may be collected, & the adjacent parts unto ye enemy be preserved from spoile & plunder. That Sir W. Vavasour and all commanders & officers may give satisfaction for their free quarters & for hay and other provisions which they & their soldiers have had in several parts of ye countie."

On the 17th of August, 1642, Lord Dunsmere writes from Warwick to Sir Thomas Lyttelton, acknowledging the assistance offered by Worcestershire, "which, with the forces of Warwickshire and Leicestershire, besides 14 troops of the King's regular army, 200 firelocks, and 300 dragoners, we fear not the enemy," which were daily expected to arrive, under the command of Hal. Hamden and Lord Brooke. "Moreover the King is to be with us to-morrow at Killingworth (Kenilworth?) to countenance his own business." Four days later, Ed. Nicholas (Secretary of State) writes from "Stonley Abbey" to the Commissioners of Array for Worcestershire, thanking them for their good services, and requesting them to send with all diligence certain troops to Warwick.

The city of Worcester was fortified by the Royalists about the same time (September, 1642), and a rate producing £180 per month was levied in the city for the cost of fortifications and soldiers. Lord Falkland writes from Stafford, Sep. 19, summoning Sir Thos. Lyttelton to repair to the King at Shrewsbury, and stating that eight troops of horse and ten of dragoons were coming to Worcester, and that ordnance should be sent from Shrewsbury by water. Then followed the action on Pitcheroft, in which the Parliamentary troops, under Lord Say, Col. Sandys, and others, defeated the Royalists, who were commanded by the Princes Rupert and Maurice, Lord Coventry, Sir W. Russell, and Sir John Biron. The Earl of Essex took possession of Worcester, hung some of the townsmen, pillaged the city, and levied heavy sums thereon.

In the following year (1643) the Royalist cause appeared occasionally more hopeful, and Worcester remained *semper fidelis*, the details of which, having been already frequently published, need not be repeated here. In the Puleston MSS. at Worthenbury, county Flint, is a printed protestation or oath, to be tendered to the inhabitants of the counties of Worcester, Salop, and Chester, and the six counties of North Wales, according to an Act of a Council of War, July 28, 1643, "to protect the King and resist the Parliamentary forces under the Earl of Essex, Sir W. Brereton, and Sir T. Middleton; to oppose these three persons; to disown those who have taken the detestable vow or covenant; to communicate nothing to those three to the prejudice of the King." Signed by Arthur Capell and twelve others. On the back are the signatures of six persons as having taken the oath.

The family of Lyttelton suffered its full share of the penalty which fell upon those who attached themselves to the Royal cause. Sir Thomas is mentioned as one of the gentlemen taken prisoners by the Parliamentary forces, and as having been incarcerated in the Tower for two years. In Dugdale's Diary is a memorandum relative to this business :—

"May 3, 1644.—Sr. Tho. Littleton, of Frankley, com. Wigorn, taken prisoner by a p'ty of horse (sent by Fox, the tinker from Edgbaston) to Ticknall Mannor near Beaudley."

John Fox, "the tinker," as he was contemptuously called, had been just appointed Colonel of a regiment, and was a very active officer.

In the following month (June, 1644), according to Manley's "Iter Carolinum," the King went from the Bishop's palace at Worcester, on the 11th of that month, to Sir T. Lyttelton's, *viâ* Bewdley, where his Majesty stayed three nights, and returned to Worcester on the 15th.

Sir Edward Lyttelton was among the noblemen and gentlemen who marched out of Worcester when the city surrendered to the Parliamentary forces under General Reynesborough in 1646. Sir Edward compounded for his estate in the sum of £1,347 6s. 8d.

The disastrous "battle of Worcester" in 1651 settled the fate of the Royalist cause, and we pass on to the protectorate of Cromwell. Here is a letter dated Jan. 5, 1654, from Robert Hope to Secretary Thurloe, alluding to the search for arms in Worcestershire. The writer received an order on the last day of December to take Sir Henry Lyttelton, who was then High Sheriff of Worcestershire, and Sir John Pakington. Both were taken and sent to London. Sir Henry was charged with having a quantity of arms hid in his house at Hagley; and Henry Rose,* a carrier, of Bromsgrove, deposed at the trial that certain heavy chests were left in his warehouse at London, directed for Sir Henry Lyttelton, and that he conveyed the same in his waggon to Hagley. Henry Cooke, another carrier of Bromsgrove, also received some heavy consignments at his inn in London, from a Mr. Lloyd, who had been in the service of a former Lady Lyttelton, and conveyed the same to Hagley, delivering them there to Bowles the steward, Sir Henry being at home at the time. The defence was that the pistols and saddles had been purchased for Sir Henry, as High Sheriff, for the use of the men in his cavalcade. Forty pairs of pistols had been purchased at Shelton's, of the Cross Guns, Covent Garden; and twenty-nine saddles from a saddler named Cheval, living at the sign of the Angel.† The parcels were sent to an inn in St. Giles's, where the Bromsgrove carriers put up.

Sir Henry was kept a prisoner in the Tower for

* Descendants of the ancient family of Rose still remain at Bromsgrove.

† All tradesmen, as well as publicans, used signs before their doors in those days.

nearly two years, and during that time he frequently petitioned Cromwell to grant him his liberty. In one of his letters he states that he had been fourteen months in durance, and that the prison was a very expensive one ; that he had suffered serious losses by sequestration and composition : that he was then burdened with a jointure of £1,500 per annum to his mother, annuities to his brothers and sisters, and was subject to his father's debts ; his health was also suffering, and he was desirous of visiting his family, if only for a short time. Meanwhile the following letter appears from Major-General Berry to Secretary Thurloe :—

" Sir,—The gentlemen of this countie (Worcestershire) meet here this day to putt his Highness' orders and instructions in execution, and have declared much forwardness in ye work, which I hope will be effectually carried on. They desire to know what his Highness' pleasure is shall be done concerning the estates of Sir Henry Lyttelton & Major Wildman. If you expect wee should proceed to sequestration of them wee humbly beg you would acquaint us with ye testimonyes you have against them. Here hath been also this day many Cavaliers, who have given engagements according to order, & have promised to bring in to our next meeting a particular of their estates, that they may be assess'd, and they seem not at all to quarrel at it.

" Your very real friend to serve you,

" Ja. Berry.

" I have inquired of those gent. nominated for Sheriffs in this county, and heare that Mr. Hazlewood is good for nothing, not like to doe you any service. Mr. Purvey is good for little —a rich clowne, that would be glad to be taken notice of, and perhaps might be ruled. Mr. Foley you all know, yet for his own sake I wish he might be spared, for ye saying is here that a man had as good be sequestred as made Sheriff. I hope my Lord will spare him. " J. B."

I have met with no record of the time when or the reason why Sir Henry was released from the Tower, but here is a letter which he received from the exiled King (Charles II.) just before his restoration :—

"Bruxelles, 8 Jan. 1660.—I am very well informed how much and how often you have suffered for me, and how much I am beholding to all your relations, and you may be very sure I have the sence of it that I ought to have, of which you shall one day have evidence. In the mean time cherish your health and prepare for better times, which we shall enjoye together. Commend me to all your friends and be confident you shall always finde me to be your affectionate friend,

"CHARLES R."

After his restoration the King offered Sir Henry a peerage, which he declined.

Another member of the family, Sir Charles Lyttelton, was also very zealous in the cause of the Stuarts. He retired to France with Charles II., where he had a company of horse, but returned to England in 1659, a year before the restoration, and joined Sir G. Booth's insurrection in the north, but was made prisoner and carried to London. There is a letter at Hagley from Sir Ed. Hide (afterwards Lord Clarendon), dated from Brussels, Oct., 25, 1659, encouraging him in the measures he was taking for restoring the monarchy. On being released he returned to the King, and appeared in his escort when his Majesty was brought back to the throne of his ancestors. In 1662 he was appointed Lieut.-Governor of Jamaica, and accompanied Lord Windsor thither; he remained in the island as sole governor, and built the town of Port Royal, which was destroyed by the great earthquake of 1692. There are large quantities of papers, letters, and books at Hagley, relative to his governorship, and also an interesting little relic in the shape of a japanned box of Jamaica work; the lid is flat, of tortoiseshell curiously engraved with a sharp metal point, like a dry-point etching. It is mounted with silver hinges and clamps. The chief ornament of the lid is a coat of arms, a cross charged with five pineapples; crest, on a helm, an alligator; supporters, two Indians, one on the dexter side holding a basket of fruit and a lance, that on the sinister side

a bow and arrow. Beneath are two large pineapple plants; above is the inscription,—PORT : ROYALL : IN : IAMAICA : 1688. At the sides are compartments in which appear West Indian fruit-trees represented with considerable spirit. This curious box measures $9\frac{1}{4}$-in. by $7\frac{3}{4}$-in. It may be supposed that this box had been sent as a present to Sir Charles, after his return to England, by some resident in the island who had enjoyed his friendship, or had participated officially in his exertions for the benefit of the colony. A comb, of similar Jamaica work, formerly in the Bernal Collection, is now in the British Museum. On Sir Charles's return to England he was made Colonel to the Duke of York's regiment, in which Captain Churchill (afterwards the great Duke of Marlborough) served under him. At the revolution of William III. Sir Charles retired from public service. There are several letters at Hagley written by Churchill to Sir Charles.

LOVE LETTERS, &c.

The connection of Stephen and Humphrey Lyttelton with the Gunpowder Plot, and the harbouring of the conspirators at Hagley, need only be mentioned *en passant*, as the particulars of those events have been frequently printed; so we pass on to the letters of John and Meriel's son, their grandsons and their wives, especially those of two of the Lady Lytteltons, which are written in so elegant a style, and breathe such tender and delicate sentiments of love and affection, that I cannot do otherwise than select a specimen or two, beginning with some written by Katherine, daughter of Sir William Fairfax, of Steeton in Yorkshire, and first wife of the Sir Charles Lyttelton before named. It need scarcely be premised that she was a woman of remarkable wit :—

"My deer deer Charles.—This is ye soonest i could write to thee since my arrival at Steeton, but if you had been as

carefull of your promis as I was I should have met the letter you said you would write upon the roade. I did write the Tuesday after you went, but perhaps it has miscarried as I beleeve yours has done that I should have had. I am resolved my Dear to think ye best of everything that we may not fall out at this distance. I am extreamly deceaved if I shall ever have occation to doe soe with you. Noe my Dear I am too confident of your kindness to suspect that I shall want a reason to justify my haveing the greatest passion for you in the world, which truely I have; if I thought you question'd this truth I would say more to confirme your faith, but I think it would injure the just opinion you have of my affection to say a great deal as if I were yet to persuade you that I am as kind to you as you desire, though not as you deserve. I will proceed to the Relation of my Jorney. I thank God I am safe at home from any disaster, but never was there such company as I had, one man was deaf and dumb, yet hee was better company than the other two, one being sick all the while, & ye other very old & ugly. If I had not had Cyrus* I had been undon for I never had 3 such wearisome days in my life. I was pretty well all the way, but I find I have the scurvy, for I have spots of it come in my face. I make noe doubt but to be cured here, for nothing brings it but being idle in Towne, the Country exercise is the best Medicine for mee that can bee. My Mother is very kind to mee & glad to see me, but shee never asked seriously if I were maried only told mee that every body said soe; soe that yet I have not told her, only shee says shee believes I will marry you and goe to Jamaica which I doe not deny; that shee may have time to resolve to part with mee. I doubt it will bee very unwillingly when it comes to it, & truely soe it would on my part if I did not consider who I am to goe with, and then I can bee content to leave father & mother, but not only because you are my husband, but because it is my inclynation to prefer your company before all the world. But Charles, shall I have noe more of it till wee meet at London? Sure my Dear you will come hither. I leave it to your good nature to consider how I shall be content to live without you 2 Months when I think this week very tedious allready. God grant me patience & a great many letters from thee, for that is ye way to make me contented. Prethee bee carefull of yourself & continue to love thine most faithfully,

"Aug. 26, 1662. "K. L."

"To ye same, at Point Cagway, Jamaica.

"I know not my Dear Charles who it was nor what was

* A famous French romance.

ye business that diverted thee from writing me a long Letter, but I curse them in my Heart, for noe body that is not so much in Love as I can imagine the satisfaction I have in Reading a letter from thee when I cannot see thee. I durst have sworn when I saw Matt that my Love had been coming, but this is a deceitful World, one is never happy but in appearances. Thank you my Dear Child for ye things you have sent me. I have got ye Chambers ready but it may be if I doe not know when you'll come you may find a slight supper. I am soe well at this instant that if my Charles were here I could laugh & be very merry, but without him perfect Health and all things els will not make me content. Just as I had writ thus far came in ye Ensign & paid ye money. I am glad it came so seasonable to keep thee from trobling thyself about it. I were ye happiest Woman in ye World if I could live to please and delight thee and not to bring thee care, but Dearest, I cannot help my ill fortune & thou hast Love enough to excuse it all therefore I will make no Apology for it. I know I need not desire thee to come home quickly, for I am sure thou wilt if thou canst. Yet I can hardly keep this Pen from saying Prethee make haste! I will let that Sute alone and beg thee to love thy poor Girl wherever thou art; this is as unnecessary a Request as ye other for I believe from my heart thou dost love me & Charles God knows Love was never more justly return'd and that all my Actions shall testify as long as my short Life lasts, which I wish may be longer for nothing soe much as to enjoy thy company; O naughty Man who tempts me to desire to keep from heaven for his Company, this must not be owned amongst Divines but it will pass for good Religion in Love. 'tis my dear because thou art soe good makes me soe wicked, yet prethee be so still, and I will find some other way to mend than by thy growing worse. I have something of a good Christian in me still for I doe as I would be done by, when I write to thee long Letters. Farewel my only Dear.

"Thine most faithfully,

" St. Jago, Thursday. " K. L."

When the above letter was written, Sir Charles, who had been appointed Governor of Jamaica, was building Port Royal, and his lady was at a house up in the country. This loving creature and the babe to which she soon after gave birth died at Jamaica (about 1663?) One of her last letters to her husband was the following :—

"My dear child, I was last night as good as my word for I went to bed as soon as ye candles were lighted & I find it agrees very well with me, for I got a good deal of sleep & am pretty well this morning. If I could continue soe I should yet hope to lay my Bones in England. Our great Troope are going to meete. I will have ye Coach & see them & say God bless you my People. Your little Boy is very well. Hee and I have had some discourse in bed this morning till hee made more noyse than I & soe we parted; my dear Charles, it would be too much happynes for a mortal to have thee & thy boy & health to carry into Worcestershire together, yet I hope God will grant it mee though I lived never soe privatly I care not; This House without thee looks soe dull that it inclines mee to ye spleen exceedingly, but at this instant I have it not, for I have a faint beleef now that I *may* live, which I doe not use to think, yet this cunning disease shall not cozen me, for I will not trust a smiling Day too much; but my Trust is in God that casts downe and raiseth up at his pleasure; may hee bles thee with all ye Blessings of Heaven and Earth.

"Thine K. L."

After the death of this affectionate woman, Sir Charles fell in love with Mistress Temple, who was maid of honour to the first Duchess of York, and seems to have had some apparent difficulty in securing the lady for his second wife. Here are a couple of his letters to her :—

"I beg your pardon my beautious Princesse but I must tell you I was never in my Life so ravished with delight as I was yesterday in ye enjoyment of your company because I did sometime flatter myself it was not altogether disagreeable to you, & therefore if you could be sensible what a cruel & ill natured thing it must needs be to undeceive mee, you would certainly think the pains you have taken to doe it was ill bestow'd by looking gravely & severely upon me ever since, & by spoyling ye best humour which you naturally have in ye World & by destroying ye hopes & felicity of one that values & loves you above every thing in it: for heavens sake let me see you this morning, because I have business in ye city will so spightfully engage me that I cannot be with you till towards night, and then too I fear only in ye Circle, & what is that for him who is so passionately desirous to have you entirely his own. "Your faithful Poore

"Clearchus."*

* A feigned name.

"To ye same.

"Madam, You have render'd me so miserable by ye resolution you seem so seriously & considerately to have taken (which therefore makes me almost despair you should ever alter it) that it will be impossible I should support your cruelty to me any longer, especially by living in ye Court & where I cannot avoyd nor choose but allways look upon you, as I can have pleasure in noe other object. hence it is, that I have consider'd with myself to find out ye most secret Retreat where I may hope, though I cannot forget you, at least to be forgotten by everybody else. Dearest Mrs. Temple, there is nothing in ye World but some greater return of that affection I have payd you can make mee endure it, and divert ye most serious design I have taken presently to retire out of it in ye no expectation of which, with a mind full of Trouble and Discontent I hate myself, yet cannot but love you beyond anything I can say to expresse it. "C. L."

Considering that the writer was a widower, whose earliest and best love should have been more absorbed in the affectionate lady whom he first married, this warmth of passion was remarkable. Mistress Temple, although she made a show of defending her fortifications, could not hold out long against such red-hot shot as Sir Charles aimed at her, and we accordingly find that in 1673-4 the Duchess of York and Lord Clarendon were formally apprised of the proposed marriage, and as formally gave their consent, deeming it to be "a discreet choice on both sides." Ann, the daughter of Thos. Temple, Esq., of Frankton, in the county of Warwick, in becoming the second wife of Sir Charles Lyttelton, seems to have emulated if not exceeded her predecessor in the most extravagant expressions of love for her husband, who must indeed have been a charming man to please two ladies so thoroughly. Hear what she says, in writing to him at Bruges :—

"I came now from taking a Turne in ye Parke whither I went for a little air & undrest me to go to Bed, but am so melancholly I can't, till I have by telling you soe, & crying a little eased my heavy Heart, which has with Patience a great while born this half-living, but now 'tis become very grevious

to me, and worst at night when I am going to our Place of Meeting & miss of you there, that which should be my Rest turns to my Torture when I think how long 'tis like to be e'er I come into those dear loved Arms; Oh Dear Dear pity me a little for all I suffer. If you knew ye passion I am in 'twould move you to lament my hard Fate. O Let me hear you tell me you love me, & how many times you wish me with you. I can't endure to think you don't want me, yet I can't help fearing you don't miss me much, nay and thinking soe too, else you could not have help'd telling me it a thousand times, unless you doe as I have done often, to write thus and ye next day burn it for fear of making you sad; but now this shall goe, to ask you when you long'd indeed to see me, not with a cold wish, but with Transport and earnest Desire as I doe to see you my Life; my Life indeed, for I have no life but to Love & Serve you & yours, and to pray for you and yours; the rest is all a dull Drawing on, and yet you have ye Heart to say in your last that I never write but in haste, that *never* might have been left out, for I can truely say I never began to write that ever I desisted till ye Paper would hold no more, or that ye Post was going. You'l say why did I begin so late? 'tis true two or three short Letters have escaped my hands by People coming in whom I could not avoyd; and hindring me writing, but for these how many have you had that I have been ashamed allmost (knowing my dullness) to send them for length, least you should be tired in ye perusal of them. I am sure when my last comes to your hands you wont think me in haste when 'twas writ, but I am glad (whatever I may here endeavour to make you think) that I have this good Pretence to fill a Sheet & 'twas to me ye most welcome thing you could say since it gives me that License; but I had much rather you would give me ye Example & soe for this time I'll bid you Adieu.

"Charles Street "Anne Lyttelton.
"July 10, 1678."

"To the same.

"This morning as I waked thinking of Thee my Heart's joy, was brought me thy most welcome letter, which I could not reade without admiration and passion, equal to that kindness which induced you to write it, and tho' you have said all ye Subject can bear & said it soe as none else could, yet unless you had convey'd with it your Prudence too, 'twill not be effectual to extinguish my grief, not but I truely own all you alledge most reasonable and doe I hope wholly submit myself to God Almighty's pleasure, trusting alone in his infinite goodness to have you safe again, but while you, ye Life of my

Life, are in danger I can't be out of paine, paine beyond any other Rack as much as Love is above all other Passions ; and when I can sigh and weepe (as I have plentifully since you went) it quiets and eases my heavy heart, which else must breake, therefore don't chide me for it and I will endeavour all you would have me rather than give you one sad thought. Poor Carew I have not yet seene but they tell me she is very well for ye time ; when I have dispatch'd all your Business I will go to her and not leave her till it please God she is well. All my Divertion will be hearing from you my Dearest. Write to me every day a long letter of all your business, but as you Love me don't say one kind Word, I find I can't beare it, for notwithstanding my Promise to you and all my endeavours, when I reade your Letter, which I can't help doing as often in a day as I can get alone, I fall into a thousand several Passions, but I am worst at night when I find the want of those dear dear Arms, but no more of this I promise you, not such another Word till I see you, which I will endeavour to live for being ever ever ever yours

"A. Lyttelton.

"Charles Street, April 26, 1678."

Charles Lyttelton was knighted in 1662, and subsequently succeeded his brother Henry at Hagley. He lived many years with his affectionate wife, and died in 1716, aged 83. Their son Henry joined the Prince of Orange soon after his landing in this country, and there is a letter from Sir Charles to his lady, relating with what confusion he (Sir Charles) had been compelled to apologise to King James for the disloyalty of his son, and that the king said in reply "he could not wonder that my son had done so since his own children were so disobedient."

HAGLEY PARK AND ESTATES.

Sir Charles Lyttelton restored Hagley Park early in the last century, and the present mansion was built over a century ago by the first Lord Lyttelton, who also greatly improved the park, and this work of improvement was carried on by his Lordship's successor to the commencement of the present century. Among

an account of certain repairs and alterations done is the following :—

"1806. In September I had a new handsome bench placed behind the Rotunda in my park, which those who sit upon will between the pillars command a very pleasing view of some of my pools and the bridge seat in front of the last. The new bench is painted green, except one part of it, on which are written the following lines, composed many years ago by my brother George Lord Lyttelton, and put on a seat since destroyed :—

"Here Pope has rested ; sacred be the shade ;
Here hang your garlands* every sylvan maid ;
Here sport, ye Muses, and this favourite grove
Henceforth beyond your own Parnassus love."

Towards the close of the last century efforts were made to obtain coal from certain parts of the estate, especially in the parish of Halesowen. Here are entries respecting it :—

"Mem. that my father sank a coalpit in the wood called the Cooms, in the parish of Halesowen and got some loads of very good coals, but he told me that after he had expended upon it about £1000 he abandoned it because the vein failed and water broke in. He had a suspicion that his manager had been bribed by the owners of neighbouring coal works to misrepresent the matter to him. It is also believed that coal may be found in Uffmoor Wood, near St. Kenelm's Chapel, and Westcote, and in the Baland Wood in Frankley, and the Brickhill Piece, in Halesowen parish."

"1794, Nov. 1. I received from Messrs. Goodwin & Co. a present of a waggon load of coal as a sample of the first produce of the colliery in my wood the Cooms, since my father desisted from working it.—N.B. The coals upon trial proved very excellent."

With regard to the above entries I was informed by Mr. W. Mathews, steward to Lord Lyttelton, that the coal pit in Coombes Wood was worked to some extent in the time of Wm. Henry Lord Lyttelton, the present

* Beneath this entry appears (apparently in the handwriting of the late Lord) the following curious mem. in reference to the word "garlands:"—"Abolished *circa* 1840 ; some one changed 'garlands' into 'garters!'"

Lord's great grandfather, and some coal from it taken to Hagley, over which there was great rejoicing. In the year 1830, or thereabout, Mr. Mathews's late uncle Wm. Mathews, and his father, Jeremiah Mathews, sunk a pair of shafts at the Coombes, which they abandoned after having spent about £1500. Coombes Wood is traversed by a "fault" called Russell's Hall Fault, and the shafts were sunk on the fault. The property has since been purchased by Mr. Henry Dawes, who has worked coal under it, which he has gotten from his adjoining pits at a place called "The Tump." There is a seam of coal in Uffmoor Wood, from 4-in. to 6-in. thick, and a shaft was sunk to it about ten yards deep. I don't know that it has ever been worked. There have been no workings to my knowledge in the other places named. Shafts have been sunk by Mr. John Samuel Dawes on Lord Lyttelton's property at a place near the Manor Abbey, Halesowen. One of these is 400, the other 300 yards deep. Coal was found at the latter depth, about three feet in thickness, and a second seam some distance lower, 2ft. 6in. thick. A gate-road 1000 yards long has been driven in the upper coal and is now being continued.

MONKISH TRICKS AND HOLY RELICS.

In these MSS. is much information concerning the monasteries just before their suppression, and extracts from reports and letters sent to Lord Cromwell by visitors in various districts. Abbots, priors, and monks are exposed, and their crimes and follies unmasked, especially their incontinence and riotous living, much of which should of course be taken *cum grano*. Mention is made of "a hollow image erected near St. Alban's shrine, wherein one being placed to govern the wyres, the eyes would move and head nod according as he liked or disliked the offering;" also of the "grand processions through the town where the image of St.

Alban was carried ; it was usually borne by two monks, and after it had been set down awhile at ye market cross, and ye monks essaying to take it up again, they pretended they could not stir it, & then ye abbot coming and laying his crosier upon ye image, & saying these words, 'Arise, arise, St. Alban, and get thee home to thy sanctuary,' it then forthwith yielded to be borne by ye monks." Among the relics reported to have been found were "ye coles St. Lawrence was rosted withal ; ye paring of St. Edmund's nails ; St. Thomas of Canterbury's penknife and books ; dyvers sculls for ye headach ; relics for rain & for avoiding ye weeds growing in corn ; two flowers wrapp'd up in black sarcenet, that on Christmas Even will spring and bear flowers ; part of the rock where Jesus was born ; God's coat ; our Lady's girdle of Bruton red silke, a solemn relick sent to women in travail ; Mary Magdalen's girdle, which Matilda the Empress founder of Farley gave, as sayeth ye Holy Father of Farley ; " concluding with : "The famous blood of Hales in Glostershire being tasted by K. Hen. ye 8th & sundry of his nobles, was found to be, not as generally reported, ye Blood of a Duck, but a slimy Jelly made of clarifyed Honey mingled with Saffron, &c., set in a round Stone, which was made deceitfully hanging between two joints of Silver, wavering as ye Blood should have waver'd."

Here is a curious document combining religious versification with headings of legal phraseology :—

" Noverint presentes et futuri.

" Weetes all that be heere,
Or that shall be lief and deer,
That I Jesus of Nazareth
For Mankind have suffered death
Upon the Cross with Woundes five
Whilst I was Man alive.

Dedi et concessi.

" I have given and do grant
To all that aske in Faith repentant,

Heavens Blisse without ending
So long as I am their king.

Reddendo et solvendo.

"Keep I no more for all my smarte
But the true Love of thy Hearte,
And that thou be in Charitee
And love thy neighbour as I love thee.

Warrantizo.

"If any man dare say
That I did not his debts pay
Rather than man shall be forlorn
Yet would I est be all to torn.

Hiis Testibus.

"Witness the day that turned to night
And the clear Sun that lost his Light.
Witness the Earth that then did quake
And stones great that in sunder brake.
Witness ye Veil that then did rend,
And Gravis which ther Tenants forth did send.
Witness my Moder and Saint John
And By Standers many a one.

In cujus Rei Testimonium.

"For further Witness who list to Appeal
To my here underhanged Seel,
For the more stable Surenesse
Thy Wound in my Hearte the Seale is.

Datum.

"Yeoven* at Mount Calvarie
The first Daye of ye Great Mercie.

C.H.S.

"Seal'd & deliv'd
in ye presence of
Mary Moder of God,
Mary Cleophicæ,
Mary Jacobi,
John ye Disciple,
Longinus ye
Centurion.

I.H.S.

Ita fidem faciunt
Matthew
Marke
Luke
John
} Notarii Publici.

"In Greek above ye Seal ye Text of 2d. Tim. 2, 19. Under ye seal upon ye Label—

"Cor Chartæ appensum Rosei vice cerne sigillum
Spreta Morte tui solus id egit Amor."

*Given.

QUEEN'S LETTERS.

In one of the portfolios is a letter in Queen Elizabeth's handwriting; it is a letter of condolence to Lady Paget on the death of Lady Compton, thus endorsed :—

"A letter of Queen Elizabeth to my grandmother Pagett upon ye death of my grandmother Crompton Lyttelton."

"A Memoriall. Elizabeth R. Cal to your mynde, Good Kate how hardly We Princis Can broke* In Crossing of Our Commandes. How Yreful† wyl the hiest Power be (may you be Sure) whan Murmure shalbe made of hys Pleasingst Wyl. Let Nature therfor not hurt your Selfe but Give plase to the Givar And thogh this lesson be from a Sely Vikar‡ yet is hit sent fro a Lovinge Souveraine."

May the "Good Kate" to whom this very curious condolence was addressed have been Katharine, wife of Henry, second Lord Paget, in the reign of Elizabeth? She was daughter of Sir Henry Knivet, of Buckenham, and after her husband's decease, in 1568, she married secondly Sir Edward Cary of Aldenham. Dr. Nash, Hist. Worc., vol. II., Addit. p. 33, has printed this letter as addressed "to Lady Paget on the death of her daughter Lady Crompton." It probably came into the possession of the Lyttelton family by the marriage of Sir Thos. Littleton the first Bart. (1618) with Catherine, d. and h. of Sir Thos. Crompton of Driffield, co. York.

There is likewise a letter from Queen Ann (wife of James I.) to the Duke of Buckingham, thus :—

"My kind dogge,‖ If I have any Power or Credit with you I pray you Let me have a Trial of it at this time in dealing sincerely and earnestly with ye King that Sr Walter Raleigh's Life may not be called in question. If you do it so that ye success answer my Expectation assure yourself that I will take it extraordinarily kindly at your hands, and rest (on) one that wisheth you well & desires you to

* Brook, or submit to.
† How angry God will be with those who murmur.
‡ Silly Vicar, or poor preacher.
‖ "Dogge:" An affectionate term then fashionable.

continue still as you have been a true Servant to your Master."

This appeal to the great Court favourite may have been the cause why Raleigh's penalty for alleged high treason was commuted from death to imprisonment, which he suffered for thirteen years in the Tower, but was eventually beheaded (1618.)

KING CHARLES'S STATE JEWELS.

The following is copied from a loose sheet in Aubrey's collections :—

"Plate remaining within the upper Jewel House in ye Tower and deliver'd over to ye Trustees of Parlt. for Sale of ye King's Goods.

"The King's Crown valued.

"In a Flower de Luce having ye Picture of ye Virgin Mary, two Saphirs valued at £65, eight Rubies ballaces valued £26.

"In ye Cross next to ye Flower de Luce, four Saphirs valued at £36, six Rubies ballaces val. £18.

"In another Flower de Luce & Cross, four Saphirs valued at £23, seven Rubies ballaces val. £42.

"In another Flower de Luce & Cross, six Saphirs valued at £62, eight Rubies ballaces value £50.

"In another Flower de Luce & Cross, four Saphirs valued at £18, eight Rubies ballaces val. £40.

"Saphirs & Rubeys *in toto* £380.

"Eight & Twenty Diamonds in ye Crown val. at Six Pounds each, £168.

"Two Emeralds, valued at £5 ; two hundred and thirty-two Pearls valued at fifteen shillings each, £174 ; one & twenty Rubies valued at £16 ; seven pound & six ounces of Gold val. at £40 p. pound with six ounces abated for Stones, £280.

"Summe in Money is £1,023.

"The Queen's Crown valued.

	£	s.	d.
"Twenty Saphirs valued at	120	0	0
Two and twenty Rubies ballaces	40	0	0
Eighty & three Pearls at 10s. each	41	10	0
Three pound five ounces of gold, at £40, p. pd.	137	6	8
	£338	16	8

"King Edward ye 6ths Crown.

	£	s.	d.
"One Saphir valued at	60	0	0
One Diamond valued at	200	0	0
One Emerald valued at	12	0	0
Four Rubies val. at	43	0	0
Thirteen Diamonds val. at	32	0	0
Seventy Pearls at 2s. 6d. each	8	15	0
In Gold	73	16	0
"Sum in Money	£429	11	0
"The Globe poir. seventeen ounces & quarter	57	10	0
Two Sceptres eighteen ounces	60	0	0
The Bracelets valued at	36	0	0
"Summe is	£153	10	0

"Sic transit gloria Mundi.

"It is somewhat surprising to find by ye foregoing Valuation that ye Imperial Crown & other Regalia of the Kingdom were of so little value as not to amount in ye whole to £2,000, for it appears by a Record printed in xviii Vol. of Rymer's Fœd. p. 236 & seq. that in the 1st year of K. Ch. reign (anno 1625) the King's Jewell Office contained an immense quantity of Jewells, Gold Plate of divers forms, as Feathers, Flowers, Collars, &c., composed of Diamonds, Rubies, Sapphires, &c., also Basons & Ewers, Bolls, Cupps, Salt sellers, Dishes, all which were sent over privately to Holland by ye King's special Warrant to ye D. of Bucks. One would think that as ye Royal Treasury was so nobly furnished, that some of ye largest and finest Jewells would have graced the principal Regalia."

ANCIENT CUSTOMS.

From an Ashmolean MS. the following is taken, with the spelling modernized :—

"There were very few free schools in England before the Reformation ; youth were generally taught Latin in the monasteries, and young women had their education not at Hackney as now (anno 1678), but in the nunneries, where they learnt needle work, confectionery, surgery, physick (apothecaries and surgeons being at that time very rare), writing, drawing, &c. Old Jackquar, now living, has often seen from

his house the nuns of St. Mary Kington (in Wilts) coming forth into the Nymph Hay with their rocks and wheels to spin, sometimes to the number of threescore and ten, all whom were not nuns, but young girls sent there for education. Anciently, before the Reformation, ordinary men's houses, as copyholders and the like, had no chimneys, but flues like louvre holes; some of them were in being when I was a boy. In the halls and parlours of great houses were wrote texts of Scripture on the painted cloths. The lawyers say that before the time of Henry 8th one shall hardly find an action on the case, as for slander, &c., once in a year, *quod nota*. Before the last Civil Wars, in great houses at Christmas the first dish that was brought to the table was a boar's head, with a lemon in his mouth. At Queen's College in Oxford they still retain this custom, the bearer of it bringing it into the hall, singing to an old tune an old Latin rhyme, '*Caput Apri defero*,' &c. The first dish that was brought up to the table on Easter day was a red herring riding away on horseback (*i.e.*) a herring ordered by the cook something after the likeness of a man on horseback, set in a corn sallad. The custom of eating a gammon of bacon at Easter (which is still kept up in many parts of England) was founded on this, viz., to show their abhorrence to Judaism at that solemn commemoration of our Lord's resurrection. The use of (the term) "Your humble servant" came first into England on the marriage of Queen Mary, daughter of Henry IV. of France, which is derived from "*Votre tres humble serviteur.*" The usual salutation before that time was "God keep you!" "God be with you!" and among the vulgar "How do'st do?" with a thump on the shoulder. Till this time the Court itself was unpolished and unmannered. King James's Court was so far from being civil to women that the ladies—nay, the Queen herself—could hardly pass by the King's apartment without receiving some affront. At the parish priests' houses in France, especially in Languedoc, the table-cloth is on the board all day long, and ready for what is in the house to be put thereon for strangers, travellers, friars, and pilgrims,—so 'twas, I have heard my grandfather say, in his grandfather's time. Heretofore noblemen and gentlemen of fair estates had their heralds, who wore their coat of arms at Christmas and other solemn times, and cried 'Largesse' thrice.

"A neat-built chapel and a spacious hall
Were all the rooms of note, the rest were small."

"At Tomarton in Gloucestershire, anciently the seat of the Rivers, is a dungeon thirteen or fourteen feet deep. About

four feet high are iron rings fastened in the wall, which was probably to tie offending villans to, as all lords of manors had this power over their villans (or soccage tenants), and had all of them, no doubt, such places for their punishment. It is well known all castles had dungeons, and so I believe had monasteries, for they had often within themselves power of life and death. Mr. Dugdale told me that about King Henry III.'s time the Pope gave a bull or patent to a company of Italian architects to travel up and down Europe to build churches. In days of yore lords and gentlemen lived in the country like petty kings—had *jura regalia* belonging to their seigniories—had their castles and boroughs —had gallows within their liberties, where they could try, condemn, and execute;—never went to London but in Parliament time or once a year to do their homage to the King. They always ate in their gothic halls at the high table or *oreille* (which is a little room at the upper end of the hall where stands a table) with the folks at the side tables. The meat was served up by watchwords. Jacks are but of late invention; the poor boys did turn the spits, and licked the dripping for their pains. The beds of the men servants and retainers were in the hall, as now in the guard and privy chamber. Here in the hall the mumming and loaf stealing and other Christmas sports were performed. The hearth was commonly in the middle, whence the saying 'Round about our coal fire.' Every baron and gentleman of estate kept great horses for men at arms; some had their armouries sufficient to furnish out some hundreds of men. The halls of the Justices of the Peace were dreadful to behold: the screen was garnished with corslets and helmets gaping with open mouths, with coats of mail, lances, pikes, halberds, brown bills, batterdastors, and bucklers. Public inns were rare. Travellers were entertained at religious houses for three days together if occasion served. The meetings of the gentry were not at taverns but in the fields or forests, with their hawks and hounds, and their bugle horns in silken bawderies. In the last age every gentlemanlike man kept a sparrow-hawk, and a priest kept a hobby, as Dame Julian Berners teaches us (who wrote a treatise on field sports *temp.* Henry VI.), it was a divertisement for young gentlewomen to man sparrow-hawks and merlins. Before the Reformation there were no poor-rates; the charitable doles given at the religious houses and the church ales in every parish did the business. In every parish there was a church house, to which belonged spits, pots, crooks, &c., for dressing provision. Here the housekeepers met and were merry and gave their charity.

The young people came there too and had dancing, bowling, shooting at butts, &c. Mr. A. Wood assures me there were few or no almshouses before the time of Henry 8th. That at Oxford, opposite Christ Church, is one of the most ancient in England. In every church was a poor man's box, and the like at great inns. Before the wake or feast of the dedication of the church they sat up all night fasting and praying, viz., on the eve of the wake. In the Easter holidays was the clerk's ale, for his private benefit, and the solace of the neighbourhood. In these times, besides the jollities above-mentioned, they had their pilgrimages to several shrines, as to Walsingham, Canterbury, Glastonbury, Bromholm, &c. Then the crusades to the holy wars were magnificent and splendid, and gave rise to the adventures of knights errant and romances. The solemnities attending processions in and about churches, and the perambulations in the fields, were great diversions also of these times. Glass windows, except in churches and gentlemen's houses, were rare before the time of Henry 8th In my own remembrance, before the civil wars, copy-holders and poor people had none. In Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, and Salop, it is so still. About ninety years ago, noblemen's and gentlemen's coats were of the fashion of the beadles and yeomen of the Guards *(i.e.)* gathered at the middle. The Benchers in the Inns of Court yet retain that fashion in the make of their gowns. Capt. Silas Taylor says that in days of yore, when a church was to be built, they watched and prayed on the vigil of the dedication, and took that point of the horizon where the sun arose for the east, which makes that variation, so that few (churches) stand true except those built between the two equinoxes. I have experimented some churches and found the line to point to that part of the horizon where the sun rises on the day of that saint to whom the church is dedicated. In Scotland, especially among the Highlanders, the women make a curtsey to the new moon, and our English women in this country have a touch of this, some of them sitting astride on a gate or stile the first evening the new moon appears and say 'A fine moon, God bless her!' The Britons received the knowledge of husbandry from the Romans. The foot and the acre, which we yet use, is the nearest to them. In our west country (and I believe so in the north) they give no wages to the shepherd, but he has the keeping of so many sheep with his master's flock. Plautus hints at this in his 'Asinaria,' act 3, sc. 1, '*Etiam opilio*,' &c. The Normans brought with them into England civility and building, which, though it was Gothic, yet magnificent. Upon any occasion of bustling in

those days great lords sounded their trumpets and summoned those that held under them. Old Sir Walter Long, of Draycot, kept a trumpeter, rode with thirty servants and retainers; hence the sheriffs' trumpets at this day. No younger brothers were then to betake themselves to trade, but were churchmen or retainers to great men. From the time of Erasmus till about twenty years last past the learning was downright pedantry. The conversation and habits of those times were as starched as their bands and square beards, and gravity was then taken for wisdom. The doctors in those days were but old boys, when quibbles passed for wit even in their sermons. The gentry and citizens had little learning of any kind, and their way of breeding up their children was suitable to the rest. They were as severe to their children as their schoolmasters, and their schoolmasters as masters of the house of correction. The child perfectly loathed the sight of his parents, as the slave his torture. Gentlemen of thirty and forty years old were to stand like mutes and fools, bareheaded, before their parents; and the daughters (well-grown women) were to stand at the cupboard side during the whole time of the proud mother's visit, unless (as the fashion was) leave was desired, forsooth, that a cushion should be given them to kneel upon, brought them by the serving-man after they had done sufficient penance in standing. The boys (I mean young fellows) had their foreheads turned up and stiffened with spittle; they were to stand mannerly, forsooth, thus: the foretop ordered as before, with one hand at the bandstring, the other behind the breech or codpiece. The gentlewomen then had prodigious fans, as is to be seen in old pictures, like that instrument which is used to drive feathers, and it had a handle at least half a yard long. With these the daughters were oftentimes corrected. Sir Edw. Coke, Lord Chief Justice, rode the circuit with such a fan. Sir Wm. Dugdale told me he was an eye witness of it. The Earl of Manchester also used such a fan. But the fathers and mothers slashed their daughters in the time of their besom discipline when they were perfect women. At Oxford (and I believe the like at Cambridge) the rod was frequently used by the tutors and deans, and Dr. Potter, of Trinity College, I knew right well, whipped his pupil with his sword by his side, when he came to take his leave of him to go to the Inns of Court."

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH ON WORCESTERSHIRE ELECTION.

A letter from this celebrated lady, dated from Tunbridge Wells, Aug. 26, 1733, and directed to Dr. Sandby, Prebendary of Worcester, is written in a strain of virtuous patriotism respecting the approaching election, which is somewhat amusing. It states that Sir T. Lyttelton, Sir Herbert Pakington, and Mr. Lechmere, were the candidates for Worcestershire, and observes :—"I don't know the two latter, but Sir T. Lyttelton has always voted as he was directed, and it was for that reason, I imagine, he had an employment* he can know nothing of. He is my cousin, but ought not to take what I say ill because I solemnly protest if I had a son that would from weakness or any bye end be influenced to act anything against the true national interest, if I had a thousand votes I would give them all against him."

Dr. Josias Sandby, to whom this was written, was incumbent of Lindridge as well as Prebendary of Worcester. He had been chaplain of a regiment during Queen Anne's wars in Flanders and secretary to Chas. Churchill (brother to the great Duke of Marlborough), for some time governor of Brussels. It was through the interest of the Duke that he was appointed Prebendary of Worcester, nearly at the same time that Dr. Hare was presented with the Deanery of Worcester for having been chaplain to the army in Flanders under the Duke. Hence the dictatorial letter of the Duchess. In 1730 a complaint was made to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester by the vestry of Putney that the roof of their chancel was ruinous, and the rain coming through, owing to the neglect of this Duchess Dowager of Marlborough, and requesting them to look into the lease and either compel her Grace to repair or order an

* Government office.

ejectment. Putney was probably one of the Dean and Chapter's manors and held by the Duchess.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Among many other interesting and valuable documents at Hagley are also the following, which were exhibited in the temporary museum formed in this city on the occasion of the visit of the Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, in July, 1862 :—

1. Original patent, by writ of privy seal, creating Sir Edward Littleton, late Solicitor General and then Lord Keeper, Baron Littleton of Mounslow in the county of Salop, with remainder to the heirs male of his body. It is dated 18 Feb., 16 Charles I. (1641-2.) The great seal has been detached, and the document, now preserved at Hagley, has been placed in a frame. The parchment measures 30¾-in. in breadth, by 24½-in. in height. The margins are elaborately emblazoned. In the initial letter is introduced an oval engraved portrait of the king, three-quarters to the right, affixed to the parchment, and coloured so as to appear at first sight like an illumination. In the upper margin is introduced an achievement of the royal arms between the crest of England and that of Scotland; in the dexter margin is the lion of England holding the banner of St. George; and lower down is the triple plume within a garter, ensigned with a crown, and with the initials C. P. In the sinister margin is the unicorn holding the banner of St. Andrew; above and below are escutcheons, one being of the arms of France, the other of Ireland. The margins are ornamented throughout with roses, thistles, honeysuckles, lilies, and other flowers, in colors and gold. In the lower dexter corner there is an oval miniature of the newly created peer, three-quarters to the right, in black dress, falling band, and black skull-cap; the purse in which the great seal

was kept appears at his side. In the lower sinister corner is introduced an achievement of the arms of the lord keeper, with numerous quarterings; of these with other particulars regarding this remarkable document a detailed account was given by Mr. John Gough Nichols, in the "Herald and Genealogist," vol. I. Lord Littleton died without issue in 1645, when the barony became extinct.

2. Letter from Charles II. to Sir Henry Lyttelton, Bart., from Brussels, Jan. 8, 1660.

3. Letter from Sir Edward Hyde to Mr. Lyttelton, afterwards Sir Charles Lyttelton.

4. Note of acknowledgment from Lord Chesterfield to Lord Lyttelton, on receiving the two first volumes of his History. It is written on a large card, as follows :—

"Lord Chesterfield sends his Compliments to Lord Lyttelton, with many thanks for the pleasure that his History gave him and begs of him to finish immediately his third volume which he hungers after, the two former volumes having disgusted him of most other Historys."

5. A letter from the Duke of Monmouth to Lady Phil. Lyttelton, his niece, congratulating her on her marriage, is couched in language of such a character as to prove that in the 17th century, in the highest circles, the grossest verbal indecencies were considered but as common-place and ordinary, even to ladies' ears. How could it have been otherwise with such a Court as Charles's and such a national poet as Dryden? But that the grave and reverend Dr. Nash should have thought proper to insert it in his county history almost in our own day is indeed surprising.

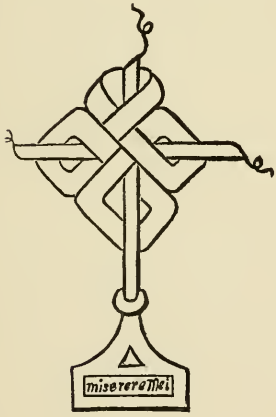
6. There is among the letters one from Phil. Cary addressed to Sir Henry Lyttelton, in which, among minor subjects, she mentions that the Protector (Cromwell) had been overturned in his coach, and so bruised in his belly and thigh that he could not stir

himself in bed, and that his secretary's leg was broken. (Qy.: Was this John Milton?) The accident arose from Cromwell driving his coach himself, and the horses running away he was thrown among them. The matter was to be kept "a great secret because of ye dishonour of it."

7. In 1662 Sir Henry Lyttelton received a letter from one Henry Harris, revealing his knowledge of a robbery of which Sir Henry had been the victim, and cautioning him that when he again brought his lady to London he was not to bring her jewels, nor more money than would serve for the journey. He intimates that there were traitors among Sir Henry's servants, and promises to do what he can for the restitution of the property, professing himself scandalised in his conscience at even knowing such rogues, who, he said, were "great blades about ye towne, that robbed you and intend to againe." Sir Henry had been twice robbed in Beconsfield Woods, on going to and returning from Arley, and once in his own house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, when confined to his bed with the gout. They bound and gagged him and carried off a good booty, but missed his wife's jewels, which they had a design upon, she being fortunately gone to Court with the jewels upon her. Many years afterwards a man went to Sir Henry at Arley and owned that he had been one of the robbers, and gave up a sum of money which he said was his share of the booty. So much for conscience.

8. Dr. Johnson's letters to Lord Lyttelton are dated from Bolt Court, July, 1780; one of them expresses thanks for offers regarding Lord Lyttelton's life (for the "Lives of the Poets"), but says he has no need. He however asks for information concerning West, about whom he is quite at a loss. In another letter he says that his desire is to avoid offence and to be wholly out of danger, and he proposes that the historical part should be written by a friend under Lord Lyttelton's

direction, and that he (Johnson) will only examine the poetry. It is rather curious that, after this letter, Johnson's remarks on Lord Lyttelton should be so caustic.



History from Marble.

DIARIES and journals form one of the distinguishing features of the 17th century. Travelling had then become the fashion with the higher classes, and no young gentleman's education was considered complete until he had compassed "the grand tour." To note the novelties and strange things seen by them in other countries was natural. Civil wars and the unsettled condition of affairs in England drove others abroad, while those who remained at home in the heat and turmoil, the civil and religious strife which then raged in these islands, frequently committed to paper the experiences they had acquired or the part they had taken in the physical or mental skirmishes of the day. That the addition thus made to English history was highly valuable, both as narratives of public events and as elucidations of domestic habits and manners, is admitted on all hands. How ill could we afford to spare the book left by the immortal Pepys! that gossiping, weak-minded, but funny creature; or the diary of the more stately, loyal, and scientific Evelyn, not to mention a host of minor legacies, such as the diary of Richard Symonds, a cavalier in the army of Charles I., Sir Kenelm Digby's journal of a voyage to the Mediterranean, &c. Moreover we are indebted to many of these journalists who happened to be antiquaries for notes and drawings of ecclesiastical buildings and monuments met with in their travels; which pen-and-ink sketches are now, after the lapse of so many years, of the utmost value and importance, whether to the historian, the herald, or the genealogist. Camden, Stowe, Weever, Symonds, Holles, Dugdale, and many others at later periods,

have done good service in this way; but perhaps not one of their productions nor any of the numerous publications issued through the agency of the Camden Society possesses a greater interest than that which bears the title of "Dingley's History from Marble," recently published by that society. For this the literary world is indebted to the kindness of the late Sir T. Winnington, in whose ancient library at Stanford Court the MSS. from which this work has been printed were found. Thomas Dingley, the author, who lived about two centuries ago, has been long claimed as a Worcestershire man, supposed to have been a member of the family residing at the old manor-house at Charlton in this county; but the researches of that accomplished antiquary, the late J. Gough Nichols, who ably edited the work, proved him to have belonged to the Hampshire family, and that his home was at Dilwyn, Herefordshire. He travelled through England, Wales, Ireland, Holland, and France, making pen-and-ink sketches of cathedrals, churches, monuments, arms, inscriptions, &c.; and his MS. volumes, of which the Welsh one has been published by the Duke of Beaufort, and the English by the Camden Society, abound with interest, and prove the author to have been well versed in ecclesiastical antiquities, a classical scholar, acquainted with heraldry, and an accurate draftsman. The "History from Marble," which is now printed, is referred to by its author in another volume as his "English Journall," and in his Irish Journal as "my English Itinerary." It was probably in progress during many years, and its materials are gathered from various counties, but are more particularly copious and curious for Herefordshire and Wiltshire, and for the cities of Bath, Oxford, Lichfield, and Worcester. They are chiefly of his own collection, but in the latter part he has not refrained from copying Weever, Dugdale's History of St. Paul's, and other

printed books. By the aid of photo-lithography these MSS. are now most successfully reproduced; and the value of such a mode of representing MSS. which are enriched with drawings is so great, and the result in this work so satisfactory, that the enterprising example set by the society cannot fail to be followed in its own future proceedings as well as by other cognate societies.

A few extracts from this journal will show what objects were considered attractive to a gentleman of the 17th century, and what pains he took while on his travels to delineate and describe what he saw and heard. In his own parish (Dilwyn) he seems to have been struck with the virtues of cider in promoting longevity—

"This parish (saith he) wherein syder is plentifull, hath and doth afford many people that have and do enjoy this blessing of long life, neither are the aged here bedridden or decrepit as elsewhere, but for the most part lively and vigorous; next to God, wee ascribe it to our flourishing orchards, which are not onely the ornament but pride of our countrey, and that in a double respect, 1st, that the bloomed trees in spring do not onely sweeten but purifye ye ambient air, as Mr. Beal observes in Hereff. Orchards, p. 8. Next that they yeild us plenty of rich and winy liquors, which long experience hath taught do conduce very much to the constant health and long lives of our inhabitants; the cottagers, as well as ye wealthier, using for the most part little other liquors in their families than restorative sider. Their ordinary course among their servants is to breakfast and sup with toast and cyder through the whole Lent, and the same dyet in the neighbourhood continues on fasting dayes all the yeer after, which heightens their appetites and creates in them durable strength to labour. Syder is their physick and our vessels their apothecaries shops."

Then follows a copy of the Vicar of Dilwyn's encomium on cider and a list of extraordinary old men and women, with their achievements, one of which was the birth of a child to a woman of 60, whose husband was fourscore; another man would follow the hounds

till he was 90 ; and a third ploughed nearly all day in summer, with his head uncovered, when he was 105 ! All this, of course, due to cider drinking. But that longevity may not be altogether attributed to cider-drinking, he quotes this merry epitaph made by one Carew upon an ale-drinking Irish beggar named Brawn, who lived to a great age :—

"Here Brawne the quondam beggar lyes,
Who counted by his tale
Some sixscore winters and above,
Such virtue is in ale.
Ale was his meat, his drink, his cloath,
Ale did his death reprieve,
And could he still have drank his ale
He had been still alive."

Bathing was also a subject to which our traveller turned his special attention while visiting at Bath. He evidently thinks highly of it as a sanitary agent, but first—

"If benifitt by bathing thou expect,
To seek God's blessing you must not neglect,
And if for bodies health you carefull bee,
Much more you should for soul's felicity.
Then seek to Christ that bath'd thy soul may be,
In his pure blood to cure its malady.
Search out thy fruits, bewayle thy state thereby,
Crave pardon, sue for grace, live holily."

"The faculties of the baths are to heat, enliven, make light and molliffy dull heavy and cold parts, to rarify and dilate the passages, to send forth excrements shutt up between the skins, to empty the circumference of the body, to digest and dissolve the reliefs of the 3rd conconction which are but fume and sweat fastned to the skin, help digestion, cherish the naturall heat, facilitate the distribution of nourishment over all the body, making the blood to circulate whereby its thickness or by the lazines or negligence of the party it did not run freely before."

"Jehovah's blessing let's admire,
Here's constant heat and yet no fire
Bethesda's pool by sacred hand
Hither remov'd to heal the land.
God and the King are here our free imparters :
God gives the waters and ye King the charters."

While at Hereford, Mr. Dingley noticed in the Guildhall the arms or devices of the various trading companies in that city, which are curious, vide :—

"'The skinners have the representation in painting of Adam and Eve, and these words: 'Unto Adam also and to his wife did the Lord God make coats of skins and clothed them.'

"The tanners, this: 'Send therefore to Joppa and call hither Simon whose surname is Peter; he is lodged in the house of one Simon a tanner.'

"Butchers, the motto, 'Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus oves et boves.'

"Glovers: 'They wandered about in sheepskins and goat-skins, being destitute.'

"Bakers: 'Give us day by day our daily bread.'

"Clothiers or cloth workers, whose arms are—sable a chevron ermine in chief, two crabets argent in base a beazel, or with supporters and crest, have this motto, 'My trust is in God alone,' besides about the chamber these verses, I suppose set up by one John Lewis, once master of the company here, in old English character, such as it is—

"Clothing doth other trades excede as farr
As splendid sol outshines the dullest starr,
By it the poore doe gain their lively hood,
Who otherwise might starve for want of food.

Farmers by it make money and doe pay
Their landlords duely on the very daye;
The clothiers they grow rich, shopkeepers thrive;
The winter's worsted, and man kept alive.

Advance but clothing and wee need not sayle
To Colchus, against dragons to prevayle,
Or yoke wild bulls to gain the golden fleece
As Jason did who stray'd so farr from Greece.

Promote the staple trade with skill and art
The fleece of gold will satisfye your heart.
Concenter that the weevers may go on,
John Lewis swears by Jove it shall be done.

"The skinners were incorporated in the first yere of Ed. III. and made a perfect fraternity in the 18 of Rich. ye 2nd. By their arms they bear ermyne on a chief gules, 3 ducall crowns or, lin'd of the first. Their motto is the same with that of the goldsmiths, "To God onely be all glory.'

"The mercers here for their arms have gules, a maydenhead flesh and blood coulour, or proper, crowned or, a wast or body

coat, purpure, issuing out of clouds proper, within a bordure nebulæ or."

The wisdom of "the English Solomon" has been proverbial for between two and three centuries, and the following "Apothegms" were collected by Mr. Dingley as among the purer and brighter crystallizations of the royal wit of that solemn pedant, James I. :—

"I love not one that will never be angry, for as he that is without sorrow is without gladness, so he that is without anger is without love."

"We are departed no farther from the Church of Rome than they from Jesus."

"In clothes I would have a ffashion should chuse a man and not a man ye ffashion."

"'Tis one of the miseries of man, yt when he is full of dayes and neer his end he should love his life most."

"It hath little operacon to make woemen learned as to make foxes tame, which onely teacheth them to steal more cunningly; the possibility is not equall, for where it doth one good it doth 20 harme."

"Parents may forbid their children an unfitt match, but they may not force their consents to a fitt."

"No man gains by warr but he that hath not to live in peace."

"No man shall do ill that thinks ere he undertakes what the end will be, not what his passion would have it to be."

"I should think it a signe God loves me not if I should kill a man by chance: I would most unwillingly do that ill which lies not in my power to amend."

"I do not think the greatest clerks neerest Heaven, for Bellarmine makes 400 questions of fayth, not ten which touch of salvation."

"The devil allwaies avoyds the mean and waites on the extremities, soe hath he sought to divide the world betwixt atheisme and superstition."

"All extremities come round to one end, the simple obedience of the Papist and none of the Puritanes; the one breeds confusion, the other ignorance and sedition."

"The end of the law is to punish sin when it is comitted, but to keep it from being comitted it cannot, as the Pope w'ch thinks by allowing fornication to avoyd adulterie."

"Tis likely that the people will imitate the King in good, but 'tis sure they will follow him in evill."

"Vertue is easier than vice, for the essential difference

betwixt vice and virtue is truth and falshood, and 'tis easier and less paines to tell trueth than a lye, and for vices of the sences custome is all in all, for to one that hath lived honestly 'tis as much paines to comitt sinne as for another to absteyne."

"I wonder not so much that woemen paynt themselves as that when they are painted wee can love them."

"Parsons erres in his resolucons in makeing the difference of our salvacon to be in the hardnes to find God's mercy, when indeed it consists onely in the right seeking of it, for then the other is sure."

"God hath distributed his benefitts so equally that theires no countrey w'ch excelleth not all others in some thing, so that as it borroweth so it lends; so in men, there is noe one so excellent in one thing but hath need of another's witt in some other; from these two proceeds all traffique and societie."

"The devil, when he cannot have the whole, seeks ever to gett one part of the soule, either the will or the understanding, which he may come easiest by, as in Protestants the will, in Papists the understanding; a learned Papist and an ignorant Papist are of two religions."

"The Pope's religion is like Homer's Iliads of the seige of Troy or Virgil's Aneads of the beginning of Rome; both of them had a foundacon of truth, so had the Popes the Bible, but they have all added so much that the first truth is almost lost."

"God never failes of his word but where he threats ill to man, as in punishing Niniveh, but allways performes where he promiseth good, as to Abraham everlasting earthly blessings, and insted of that gave him heavenly."

"Cowardice is the mother of crueltie; 'twas ever fear that made tyrants put so many to death to secure themselves."

"All God's miracles are above nature, but never against, for that were to destroy his own work, which he cannot do, but he may excell it, therefore the miracle of the Pope's transubstantiation is against it self."

"Types are the images of the mind, w'ch God allow'd the Jewes to keep them fro' images of the sence and to teach them that his worship was to be in spirit and in truth."

"The Church of Rome fell at first from her puritie into infirmities, then into corrupcons, then into errors, then into heresies, and lastly into abomination. God punisheth sinn with sinn."

"Men as often fall out about small things as great, because after the first contradiction they maintain themselves not the thing."

"No indifferent gesture is so seldome done without sin as laughing, for it is comonly raysed upon things to be pittyed and therefore man only can laugh and he onley can sinn."

"Much money makes the countrey poore for it setts a deepe price on every thing."

"A lye of error is a fault of credulitie not of falsehood, but a presumptuous lye is that which a man makes as God made the world—of nothing."

We now come to the monumental epitaphs which Mr. Dingley collected in his journeyings. These are full of the inflated laudation and quaint conceit which marked the period from the Reformation till long after our author's time. Here is a miracle of a lady :—

"Sole issue of a matchless paire,
Both of their state and virtues heire,
In graces great, in stature small,
As full of spirit as voyd of gall ;
Cheerfully grave, bountcously close ;
Holy without vain-glorious shows ;
Happy and yett from envy free,
Learned without pride, witty yett wise.
Reader, this riddle read with me :
Here the good Lady Waller lyes."

And here we have a gentleman *en suite* (Mr. W. Hopton, in Berkeley Church)—

"Where are thine accusers ? Thus once spake he
That wrote on dust to set the woman free.
And where are thine accusers may we ask,
Writing upon thy dust. 'Twould be a task
To find one that condemns thee. But what then ?
This doth but justifie in sight of men.
Thrice happy thou when rising from this place,
Standing in th' midst before thy Judge's face,
Shall to thy endless comfort hear him cry,
'Hath no man yet condemned thee ? Nor do I.'"

Next I select a curious description of a fat young lady :—

"Here lyes bonny bouncing Gilian,
Who in each buttock had a pillion.
She was a daughter to Sir Harry,
Whom a young man meant to marry,

But that cruel death did long
For a bitt was tough and strong;
She was fatt and some deal fulsome,
And you know that young men will some
Times take fatt unto their lean,
And with bacon grease their bean."

A merchant's epitaph—

"Here a Chapman lies who left his trade on earth
To merchandize in Heaven, his second birth,
Relinquisht all to purchase that true gemme,
His life's estate in new Jerusalem."

There are some specimens of moralising—varieties of those so well known from the Malvern tiles :—

"Remember thy life may not ever indure,
That thou dost thiself thereof art thou sewre,
But and thou leve thi will to other men is cure,
And thou have it after, it is but a venture."

Again, this idea being apparently taken from Shakespeare—

"Reader, wouldst know w't is ye end of man,
Look round about & thou may'st see it plain.
This world's a stage, whereon all sorts of men
Act parts a while and then go off agen."

Lastly, a pleasant play upon the name of one Beeston, who bore on his arms a bend sable between six bees volant of the second :—

"The bee provideth honey for pleasure and wax for thrifte, and not only carefully preserve their own petty state but by their labors much sway all human states and policies, as the following verse speaketh :

"The calfe, the goose, the bee,
The world is ruled by these three."

"Meaning yt wax, penns, and parchment, sway all men's estates."

A Baronial Hall in the last Century.

THE following are the contents of a MS. kindly lent me by Sir Edmund Lechmere. It is a family document relating to the ancient residence of the Lechmeres at Hanley Castle, and will no doubt be considered interesting as descriptive of the mode of life in a Worcestershire baronial hall at the close of the last century—in the days of the great grandfather of the present baronet—the account having been written by the late Sir Edmund Hungerford Lechmere :—

SEVERN END, OR HANLEY.

The ancient seat of the Lechmeres stands upon a bank overhanging flat and spacious meadows on its eastern front, through which the Severn, almost concealed by the marly shores, flows towards Upton, whose church is seen to the S.E. On the opposite shores are the woods of a part of Croome domain, encircling the pleasant retreat called Severn Bank, now converted into Lord Coventry's residence. A few old stag-headed oaks, the venerable lords of the soil, diversify the green expanse. The centre of the house is chiefly in the black and white timber and plaster style, with gables ornamented with wooden carvings and embossed leaden spouts. A massive door, studded with iron knobs, opens to a passage, on the left of which are the servants' hall and domestic offices; on the right, a small panelled hall conducting to the best apartments. A corresponding door at the end of the passage opens to a formal garden. Some fragments of heads near the entrance, and some appearances of a stone foundation, indicate remains of an earlier period, which are probable, as Hanley was the first and principal seat of the family from the time it was bestowed upon them by the Conqueror. The wings of brick having each three gables, on which were shields bearing the date, shut in on either side a formal court, formed by an iron palisade, in the centre of which is a florid iron gate, the pillars on either side of which are surmounted by iron dogs, the emblems of fidelity. The west side of the house is less regular,

and chiefly presents a mass of unequal gables of black and white, more or less ornamented with carved mouldings. Here was the principal flower garden, laid out in formal parterres, some of them edged with box and laid out in patterns of curious design. This garden was shut in by walls covered with grapes, plums, or cherries, having four doors, one at each corner; one opening to a chicken court, the others to gardens appointed for fruits and other produce, according to their aspects. In the centre of the wall, opposite to the house door, was a lofty gate of massive woodwork, conducting to a straight avenue of elms, about three quarters of a mile long, with a pathway underneath leading to the village of Hanley. Colonies of rooks had long found a refuge in the overhanging branches, which formed an arched canopy, resembling the long perspective of a Gothic aisle. Here had once been a deer park, but my grandfather, preferring the useful to the ornamental, substituted bullocks for stags, divided the park into inclosures, and removed many of the trees. Some large cherry trees, the best of their kind, and the favourites of our childish days, and some eating and horse chesnuts, were suffered to remain. Sun dials and raised terraces, approached by flights of steps, and thick hornbeam hedges, and here and there a summer house, were the other characteristics of these gardens. The Malvern hills shut in the prospect. A vast range of barns, granaries, stables, and brewhouses—indicative of large consumption and of prevailing hospitality—occupied an ample space close to the house on the north side, and from there was a road leading to other nurseries or gardens and orchards, celebrated for the variety and excellence of the apples; and to barns and stalls, fitted for the reception of the various kinds of grain, and for the progressive nurture and fattening of the cattle in their several stages. One, distinguished as the fattening barn, prepared many a victim for the Smithfield market. It was the favourite haunt of our childhood, for near it was a quiet pond, the occasional retreat of wild fowl we liked to see skimming across its waters, and adjoining was a garden, the taste of whose fruits we were familiar to.

The old house had few, if any, striking features within, nor were its arrangements convenient or suited to modern taste. The rooms were for the most part very low, and with the exception of the dining room none were of any size. The greater part of the building was occupied by staircases and long passages, here and there a dark retreat or closet, formed by the superincumbent angles of the roof. Most of the bed chambers were wainscoted or hung with tattered tapestry, and papers with large patterns in flock. The dining room had

been panelled in oak, which at some period had been daubed with white paint, but from the habit of smoking in it, which prevailed every evening through the year, it had assumed a gloomy shadowy hue, even darker than its original tint. In the corner where my grandfather usually sat both walls and ceiling were almost black. For the floor, the tints were varied from deep grey to shades of brown. The ceiling had a massive pattern of stucco formed into squares ; at the point where the lines intersected was an ornament in the centre of each square, a rude representation of a cherub's head. The ample fire-place was on one side of the room near the west end ; over it hung a portrait of George 1st. Near the west end on the same side was a beaufet in a glazed recess, behind which was a little closet or retiring room. The other portraits in the room were Sir Nicholas Lechmere and lady, Mr. Edmund Lechmere and his wife (Miss Foley), Mr. Lechmere, father of the judge, who planted the elm tree avenue, Mrs. Lechmere (Miss Hungerford), a portrait of the judge when young, and two portraits of older date, upon which were legends : " His Honour Lechmere and Madame Lechmere," probably of the latter time of Elizabeth. The dining room was a passage room to the drawing room, being divided by a lobby opening to the principal, a poor and low staircase which led to the best bed chambers. The drawing room, which was low and by no means spacious, was hung with white Flemish leather, embossed in gold figures of Dutch contour, representing the story of Meleager and Atalanta ; he a sturdy Dutchman, the boar's head in his hand, the body bleeding at his feet ; Atalanta and her attendant kindred companions of the hero complacent and well-fed looking ladies. The best staircase was hung with Hogarth's prints and Indian paintings ; a little room opened from it, known as " Uncle Edmund's Room," and which once a gardener had occupied who was supposed to have had a design either on the life or money of my grandfather, who was sleeping in the parlour chamber adjoining, and who, having been twice disturbed by a spaniel, found each time the gardener standing at his bed-room door. The excuse made was that he thought his master called him. The next morning he disappeared and was not afterwards heard of.

When any of us, as children, occupied either of these rooms, the recollection of that incident haunted us and filled us with imaginary terrors, which either robbed us of sleep altogether or broke repose by terrific dreams. Upon one occasion, when I occupied the parlour chamber, and was lying in its gloomy bed, with massive carved tester and plumed canopy, I had been dwelling upon my grandfather's adventure,

as well as upon some of the horrid details of the Newgate Calendar. I fell at length into a disordered slumber: presently the house was disturbed by shrieks, which came from the parlour chamber, and I was found battering an old India Japan chest with one of the heavy chairs, which I could scarcely have wielded except under the influence of fear. I fancied in my sleep that I was defending myself against those who desired my life. I was gradually awakened, and some of the servants remained and sat there with me until my alarm was dissipated and I became satisfied that it was but a dream. A landing-place, hung with old portraits, divided the parlour chamber from the best bed room, where the bed, decorated with brown velvet and parti-coloured chenille and gimp fringes, exhibited the traces of bygone splendour. The counterpane was white and tarnished silver, embroidered in a florid pattern at the corners and centre with coloured silks. My grandfather's room was at the end of a long passage on the south side; it was hung with tapestry; the bed was very old, and hung with crimson cloth, upon which many a moth had banquetted. Two casements of a diamond pattern, which had more lead than light, gave a *chiar oscuro* to the apartment. One of them was a small bow, and had in the centre a rich shield of painted glass, with the arms of the family. The furniture was of the worst and least interesting kind, heavy, angular, and plain; that of an earlier date, of which, however, there was not much, had been put out of sight into lumber rooms, where also was a neglected spinnet, the only musical instrument the house contained. On the staircase near the lumber room hung portraits of Lord Lechmere and his gallant brother, Captain Edmund Lechmere, killed at sea. Each certainly deserved a more conspicuous place than that assigned to them A little chamber, corresponding in size, and over that known as Uncle Edmund's room, opened upon this upper staircase; it was allotted to and generally reserved for my Uncle Whitmore. The best hall was floored with brick; on the walls hung two pictures, one of my grandfather riding a match at Newmarket, the other a celebrated race-horse led by a groom. In a little book-shelf in the corner was all the visible library of the family, consisting of an imperfect copy of Burn's Justice, the Newgate Calendar, the Bible, Prayer-book, The Whole Duty of Man, and one or two more religious books. It might have been supposed that in a family which had been stationary so many centuries, and blessed with what might be considered affluence, some valuable relics of antiquity or art would here have been found. There never was one, I should think, so circumstanced that possessed so few.

There was very little plate of value or variety, no jewels, or much fine porcelain. The dinner was usually served on massive pewter. The viands were excellent in their kind, but simple, solid, and substantial. It was not unusual to see a loin of veal, a round of beef, a hock of bacon, and three fowls, on the table at one time, followed by an ample supply of game and poultry, pies, puddings, custards, and syllabubs upon a glass pyramid in the centre of the table. The dessert always displayed an assortment of the best home-made cakes and sweetmeats.

The guests who usually assembled round the hospitable board throughout the year were generally kinsfolk or tenants and their families, or some immediate neighbours. The families of Lord Coventry and the Lygons paid my grandfather much respect by calling, but were not often, if ever, guests at his table. Lady Clanbrassil and other members of the Foley family paid occasional visits. An evening seldom passed that some of the tenants did not walk in, either at or after dinner time, to recount to my grandfather the news of the neighbourhood or the current prices of the last fairs. On Sundays, the Rector, Mr. Turbeville, was an expected visitor, and now and then the family apothecary, Mr. Ballard, with brown wig and coat and gilt-headed cane, joined the social circle, and chronicled the births and deaths and prevailing maladies. When the ladies had withdrawn it was the custom for the gentlemen to assemble round the fire. There was no lack of port and sherry, or mountain, for those who preferred wine, but ale and pipes were brought and spitting boxes for each, and these, by preference or out of compliment to my grandfather, were seldom rejected. The apartment was thus in a state of nightly fumigation, and the smell to those who disliked tobacco was often suffocating and intolerable. My grandfather, who dined at a little table apart, sat, the monarch of the scene, in an old-fashioned mahogany chair; nor was there ever one more absolute; his word was law, and never contradicted. His conversation being confined chiefly to one topic—the breeding of cattle—or common events, had nothing edifying in it or of general interest. He was very choleric, and was most particular in having the fire made up into a hollow cone, and with a sort of masonic accuracy. Woe to the footboy who did not carry out his plans: a volley of denunciations would sometimes break forth, the frightened servant would drop tongs and coals and all, and then another volley and a menace with a stick which hung close at his side. But withal, my grandfather was a liberal and humane master, and his servants generally grew old around him. * *

* * My grandfather was not an early riser in his latter years, and generally was accustomed to take his breakfast, administered and prepared by my grandmother's hands, in his bed. He used to appear in the dining-room about twelve, when the Psalms of the day were read to him. About one, the old lofty green chariot came to the gate, in which he drove to see and feel the perfections of his pet oxen, while my grandmother repaired to the cottages with healing in her hands and her words, and distributed the little offerings of her truly benevolent and thoughtful disposition. She was one of the most admirable persons I have ever known: her personal attractions as to face or figure could never have been remarkable, but her manners evinced a dignified simplicity and kindness which attracted the respect of all who approached her. Her religion was sincere and fervent, without pretence, and her charity unostentatious and universal, extending not only to almsgiving but to covering the failings of others. I rarely saw her provoked to anger, and from her self-command she was well calculated to appease the wrath of others; and if any could be said to have control over her husband's bursts of anger, she was that person. Her reproof or remonstrance was the most cutting and effectual I have ever known, because it was so calmly delivered, and with such an appeal to the mind of those she wished to convince, not only as to a moral wrong, but an offence against God. Her attire was of the simplest kind; except her wedding-ring she had not a single ornament. A cap, carefully plaited on the sides, confined her hair, which was drawn under it; a plain white handkerchief was crossed over her bosom; her gown was of printed cotton, of a quiet pattern, or of Irish tabinet, or silk of a sober colour. She was a servant as well as a wife, administering to all the wants of her husband in health or sickness, and preparing with her own hands his morning and evening repasts.

Never was there a greater contrast than that exhibited by her brother, the Rev. Edward Whitmore, a Fellow of New College, Oxford, and one of the most eccentric and morose beings I have ever seen. He made Hanley, as often as he could, his home, but seldom mentioned to any his time of coming or departing, and often occasioned his sister much uneasiness by his sudden and unexpected disappearance. His eyes were light, his features aquiline, and rather ruddy; his mouth had a downcast and sour expression; his stature was above the middle size, and his limbs were bony; he wore a huge cocked hat over his shabby light-brown wig, and a piece of black ribbon round his neck; his coat of black or blue was cut off in the old-fashioned manner from the waist; the

pockets, by his desire, were large, and being filled to their extent with fruit and other things, gave to his naturally large hips an extraordinary protuberance ; his waistcoat, which covered an ample rotundity, and his small clothes, were of black ; white sprigged linen, white stockings, heavy shoes, and buckles, completed his costume. When he walked far from home a large long dark-blue great coat enshrouded his form, and he held in either hand a long hooked stick by way of support, extending above his head. He had once broken his nose, his leg twice, in some feats of youthful agility, and it was his boast that in earlier days he had been president of an "Ugly Club" at Oxford, and had won a bet, by eating more broad beans than an old sow ! In his diet he was most unpleasant, taking for breakfast large basins of cider and milk, and the water in which vegetables had been boiled ! He affected a strict observance of the old fasts of the Church on Wednesdays and Fridays, when he indulged in a mixture of eggs and cider, of which he was remarkably fond, or in the demolition of a large pudding of rice and fruit. It was his habit to take a certain quantum of exercise daily, both out of doors and in, for which purpose he would walk along passages, round tables, first in one room, then in another, a habit he had probably contracted from having walked the decks when chaplain on board a ship. He was a platonic admirer of many young ladies, for whom he used to disburthen his pockets of fruit, bruised by his journeys ; or he would now and then exercise his taste by taking them a pictured pocket handkerchief from a fair.

Two of his friends and correspondents were Mr. Woodhall, of Thuxford, the translator of "Euripides," and Olivia Serres, the *soi-disant* Princess of Cumberland, a handsome crafty woman, who at last overreached herself by her silly pretensions.

The visits of my grandfather's sons by his first marriage with Miss Charlton were by no means frequent. Colonel Charlton, who on coming of age enjoyed the ancient mansion and domains of the Charlton family at Ludford, near Ludlow, had married Miss Case, who is said to have possessed many personal attractions, and was one of a very numerous family of Mr. Case, a very respectable master glover, who had retired to Staubrook Hall, near Powick, a place which he had greatly enlarged. The marriage with Miss Case was not in the first instance agreeable to my grandfather, and there was generally a sort of restraint in the visits of his elder son and his wife. They seemed, as far at least as the old gentleman was concerned, more ceremonial than easy and cordial.

Colonel Charlton, who had been in the Guards, and had lived in the best society, was justly appreciated as an agreeable well-bred gentleman. We lived as children on terms of affection with him, and he was invariably kind to us. His second brother, my uncle, Edmund, I never remember to have seen, but I have heard of him from all who knew him as a man of undoubtedly superior talents, of considerable taste and reading, and who, had he been diligent, might have aspired to the first honours of his profession—the law. His circumstances were narrow, and his habits of expense beyond them; he made also a most unfortunate marriage with a person without connection, fortune, or character. His days were embittered by distress of mind and pain of body, and he died childless at Edinburgh. His widow, who was dependent on my father's bounty, survived him many years.

The Berkeleys of Cotheridge and Admiral Lechmere's family were the other near relatives who visited Hanley, and they were always welcome guests.

The number of in-door servants kept by my grandfather was not larger than the size of his house and mode of living required; but there was a needless addition of hangers-on, or occasional visitors, who took advantage of his ease or indifference to their presence. At the head of the males was one whose word was law, and who outmastered and overawed his master himself. This was an important personage both in bulk and manner, known by the title of "Bailey Hall." His size would not have disgraced a Falstaff; the expression of his face was shrewd and harsh, his voice strong and somewhat nasal, and full of authority in little matters. Being somewhat infirm of body, he walked with large sticks and ensconced himself on a seat within a recess in the wall of the garden terrace, where he was listened to by his inferiors with a reverence and awe claimed by an eastern Pasha from his dependents. When he moved from home, his Majesty was drawn in a green one-horse chaise; he presided at the well-stored board in the servants' hall; and a natural daughter, a well-looking young woman, known as Betty Burbridge, was oftentimes received there out of respect for her father.

Next in importance to Mr. Bailey was John Styche, the butler, who had passed the greater part of his life in that capacity. He might have passed, both from the fashion of his living and gravity of deportment, and from his low and measured speech, and in age, for a Puritan; his features were small, regular, and sedate, with an expression significative of depth and the dissatisfaction of mortified pride. The

tones of his voice were smooth, slow, and submissive. His hair inclined to curl, and was drawn off his forehead into masses on the side of his face, or into bushy curls in the manner of a wig at the back of his neck. His stature was long and slight, and not ill proportioned. His livery suit was of plain drab or gray, with flaps and cuffs and large pockets cut in the old style ; a cravat with long ends, white stockings, and large shoe buckles, completed his costume. He was very assiduous towards his master, and was held in respect and authority by his master's guests and tenants. He kept his two sons, Benjamin and Edmund, under his tutelage, and they became my companions in mirth and mischief. John was the appointed ambassador to Worcester on a market day ; his image is now familiar to me, in a large flapped hat, with capacious baskets like panniers, moving at a jog-trot pace, on an over-fed ill-trimmed bay horse. We always anxiously looked out for John's return from the provincial metropolis, as sugar-plums or penny pictures usually formed a part of his merchandise.

Wm. Emling was also an important personage. It was his office to drive the pampered victims up to the Smithfield market, and to bring back to his master a faithful report of his mission. He was a tall, spare person, devoid of all superfluous bulk, with a wry twang in his voice, and a sagacious expression, enlivened by a warm, quick eye, which glittered from beneath a prominent brow and deep-set lid. His gaunt figure, in a long smockfrock, used now and then to be ushered into my grandfather's presence, and then many a doleful tale was told of how their favourite became foot-sore on the way, and fretted away some precious pounds of fat before its glories could be exhibited in all their pride to the admiring butchers.

Of the women, first and foremost was my grandmother's maid, Mrs. Wilcox, a very handsome woman, with regular features, pale and fair, and large gray eyes, set upon a fine complexion, and embellished by dark and shining hair. She did the honours to mantua makers and to several visitors to her ladyship, who took care upon such occasions to keep us out of the way, and to promote as far as possible an early going to bed, that there might be no interruption to or any repetition of her conversation.

Mrs. Ann Potter, the housekeeper, though less refined, was a kindred spirit, who presided in the pastry, a snug warm little room adjoining the back kitchen. There she regaled her friends with dainties of her own composition, and I was occasionally allowed, by way of a treat, to participate in her

evening's entertainments, at which Betty Burbridge sang "In the dead of the night" and other touching ditties; and the hostess recounted to my wandering ears the awful dreams and mysterious warnings she had had, without however dying after them, as she ought properly to have done for their fulfilment. Once she had heard a rap at the window, and a voice call thrice very mournfully, "Ann Potter! Ann Potter!! Ann Potter!!!" She trembled and got into a great heat, and thought her death-warning was at hand; however, the good lady had survived the shock, and from her thriving condition seemed likely to survive many such.

Another character was the cook, one of the plainest women ever seen, with a face seared with the small-pox, and a large long frame, which it was her pride to deck out as gaudily as possible. On her head she had a high cap, with bright yellow bows, her favourite colour. She was very superstitious. A mole was found one day in the garden, having had three of its legs cut off, and bleeding at each of the amputated joints. This cruel experiment had been tried upon the poor little animal as a charm for the toothache by the merciless queen of the kitchen; and one of the requisitions to make the charm work effectually was that the victim should be turned out alive.

The housemaid, Betty Bourne, was a faithful attached creature, with a pale forlorn countenance, arising from a morbid character, which made her fancy herself injured by unintended slights. Wherever there was a white wainscote Betty had traced her griefs in the following lines:—

> "Forlorn and by myself I go,
> Headache and pain and very low."

Were I to indulge in remembrance, I could mention many other familiar names, and I may be excused for particularising Betty Beriford, the pancake woman, a regular attendant on Shrove Tuesday from daybreak to eve, of whom Rembrandt's pancake woman is the very prototype. I see her now on her three-legged stool, with all her implements by her side, the pride of her vocation making her regardless of heat, frying her dainties over the blazing logs of the back-kitchen fire, now tossing her dainties with admirable dexterity or distributing them to the longing bystanders.

Then there was Betty Compton, the civil, respectful, and assiduous nurse, or occasional assistant in the house, a very pattern of neatness and example of contentment and success arising out of honest pride and frugal industry. Then there was Betty Glover, the garden woman, a merry gossip, full of

original humour and garrulity; and Betty Jones, another occasional assistant, remarkable for her good looks and good manners, and who, far from conforming to the folly of new fashions and customs, exulted in the display of her old English cloak of bright scarlet, her tight bodice, and simple kerchief, and her round skimming-dish hat, fringed with lace and trimmed with puffings of mode. It was not the less valued by her from having been the identical one she wore at her wedding.

The last characteristic personage I shall name is Hester Walker, an inhabitant of one of the village almshouses, who frequently found her way to the old mansion, that she might taste of its good cheer, of which she frequently partook too freely. Hester had been remarkable for beauty in her youth and attracted the notice of one of my grandfather's grooms, to whom she gave her heart. She retained many traces of her early attractions in a chiselled nose and marked regular features, but she had become eccentric, partly from constitutional defect, partly from too free indulgence in liquor, and when excited she sung in wild strains the triumphs of the Lechmeres in their contested elections, accompanying them with strange gestures and fantastic evolutions. Every now and then she varied them by serious reflections and seemed awhile to be under a better influence, but soon the laugh returned and the freedom of the song predominated over the transient gloom. The mischievous delighted in her freaks and freely administered the treacherous cup that they might promote them.

There was generally a numerous train of hangers-on, both about the stalls and domestic offices, who found their advantage in liberal offerings, which cost nothing to the distributors, who thought they kept up their master's credit by such benefactions. Several times during each week a female regiment in their red cloaks enlivened the avenue as they wound along with pitchers and baskets intended to receive the superfluous fragments from the squire's table. Such scenes, where enlivening charity prevailed and associated the poor in family relationship with the rich, are rarely witnessed in the present day; and it is owing to the changes introduced by what is called refinement, and which disinclines the wealthy to the due estimate of the responsibilities and enjoyments of their country estates, that so much detachment of feeling has taken place between the poor and the higher classes. Not that there is a lack of pecuniary distribution through the hands of an agent; but unaccompanied by that sympathy which arises out of personal communication it loses half its value, and is received more as

a matter of right and custom than as a favour conferred. It was from maintaining such continual and kind intercourse with their humble neighbours that my grandfather and grandmother reigned so completely in their hearts as to have an absolute sway over their affections and services. It was from a similar cause that my grandfather obtained that legitimate influence which gave him and his sons that popular ascendency over rivals far superior in wealth and rank, and placed them often in the honourable position of representatives of their country.

My grandmother's health declined in the year ——, and after languishing awhile in patience and resignation, with a mortification in one of her legs, she gently expired, leaving behind her the regrets of all who knew her, which were soothed by the conviction that she had exchanged this transitory scene for that immortal joy and intelligence for which her whole life had been a preparation. From the period of her decease my father and mother took up their abode at Hanley, that they might the better supply to my grandfather those minute attentions of which he had been so sadly deprived. He was impressed with the extent of his loss, although age had subdued his human feelings. He survived her long, and appeared happy in the society of the son and daughter-in-law, for whom he had always manifested great partiality, and in the cheerful ways of his grandchildren. He died in his 95th year, having retained the enjoyment of his faculties to the last, and was buried in the tomb of his fathers in Hanley Church.

Pershore "Bush-houses."

A VERY ancient custom existed at Pershore till recently of selling beer without a licence on the three days of the fair held annually in that town in the month of June; and the houses at which beer was sold on these occasions were distinguished by a bush being hung over each door. This custom prevailed for centuries, but at length it became a nuisance in collecting and harbouring thieves and other bad characters; and about fourteen years ago the Excise laid informations against the parties, which were heard by the magistrates, and excited much interest, owing to the right claimed by the Excise to over-ride an ancient charter, or immemorial custom, by the statute of 25 and 26 Victoria.

Nash, the county historian, informs us that Henry the Third, on the 4th of May, in the 11th year of his reign, "gave to God, our blessed Lady, and St. Edburgh of Pershore, and to the abbot and monks there, a fair on the feast of St. Edburgh and two days following; now kept June 26, according to ancient custom." King Edward the Second recited the above charter, and conferred a further patent, which was rehearsed and renewed by Henry the Fifth and Henry the Sixth; and under that charter Pershore fair continues to be held.

Meanwhile let us see what legislation has been doing during the five or six centuries that the Pershore charter has been in existence. The first enactment by which alehouses were regulated by Act of Parliament was the 11th of Henry the Seventh—an Act "against vacabonds and beggers," which empowered two Justices "to rejecte and put awey comen ale selling in townes and places where they shall think convenyent, and to take suertie

of the keepers of alehouses of theyr good behavyng." In 1828, the 9th Geo. 4, c. 61, a general Act was passed, which repealed all former statutes on the subject, and regulated the granting of alehouse licenses. The 1st Wm. 4, c. 64, withdrew the authority of granting licenses to houses for the sale of ale, beer, and cider only, from the local Magistrates, in whose hands it had been vested for three centuries, and created a new class of alehouse keepers, distinct from those licensed by Magistrates, giving to the former facilities for obtaining licenses upon a small pecuniary payment only. The 4th and 5th Wm. 4, c. 85, and 3 and 4 Vic., c. 61, amended and slightly modified former Acts; and 25 and 26 Vic., cap. 22, which introduced the "occasional license" system, enacts (clause 12)—"So much of *any Act as permits* the sale of beer, spirits, or wine, at fairs or races, without an excise license, shall be and the same is hereby repealed."

The charter, then, by which Pershore fair and its usual accessories are still held, having been considered as unaffected by any statute hitherto passed, it only remains to connect the "bush-houses" with the other privileges hitherto enjoyed under that charter. This brings us to the origin of "bush-houses." The very use of a bush implies great antiquity, for long before Henry the Seventh first legislated for alehouses by Act of Parliament the bush was hung out as a sign that something good was to be had within.* It is a question still whether bushes preceded signs proper. The proverb is well-known, "Good wine needs no bush"—that is, needs nothing to point out where good stuff is on sale, as its merits soon becoming known in the vicinity, would be sufficient to attract customers without the invitation of a sign. The following passage from "Good Newes

* The Bush Inn, Worcester, is one of the earliest inns mentioned in the Corporation archives, nearly as far back as the Reformation, and may have existed much earlier.

and Bad Newes, by S. R." (1622), seems to prove that anciently tavern keepers had both a sign and a bush. A landlord (a "host," I ought to say) was speaking :—

> "I rather will take down my bush *and* sign,
> Than live by means of riotous expense."

As does the following, that anciently putting up boughs upon anything was an indication that it was to be sold, which also may be the reason why an old besom—which is a sort of dried brush—is put up at the top-mast head of a ship or boat when she is to be sold. Brand, in his "Popular Antiquities," quotes an author, who in 1598 wrote "Good wyne needes no *ivie* bush." In "England's Parnassus" (1600) the first line of the address to the reader runs thus: "I hang no ivie out to sell my wine." And in Braithwaite's "Strappado for the Divell" (1615), p. 1, there is a dedication to Bacchus, "sole soveraigne of the ivy bush." In Dekker's "Wonderful Yeare" (1603) we read: "Spied a bush at the ende of a pole, the aunciente badge of a countrey alehouse." At Pershore, instances have been known of a bough being suspended from a pole, but this does not appear to have formed part of the custom proper. In Vaughan's "Golden Grove" (1608) is the following passage: "Like as an ivy bush, put forth at a vintrie, is not the cause of the wine, but a signe that wine is to be sold there: so likewise if we see smoke appearing in a chimney we know that fyre is there, albeit ye smoke is not ye cause of ye fyre." The following is from Harris's "Drunkard's Cup," p. 299: "Nay, if the house be not worth an ivy-bush, let him have his tooles about hym; nutmegs, rosemary, tobacco, with other appurtenances, and he knowes how of puddle ale to make a cup of English wine." Coles, in his "Introduction to the Knowledge of Plants," p. 65, says: "Box and ivy last long green, and therefore vintners make their garlands thereof; though perhaps

ivy is the rather used because of the antipathy between it and wine." The Pershore people generally used oak and elm boughs, though a cabbage has been known to be substituted. In a curious poem entitled "Poor Robin's Perambulation from Saffron Walden to London, July, 1678," at p. 16, we read :

> "Some alehouses upon the road I saw,
> And some with bushes, showing they wine did draw."

A note in the Lansd. MS. 226, f. 171, upon the "Tavern Bush," by Bishop Kennett, says: "The dressing the frame or bush with ivy leaves fresh from the plant was the custome forty years since, now generally left off for carved work." In Scotland a wisp of straw upon a pole was formerly the indication of an alehouse; and in old times such as sold horses were wont to put flowers or boughs upon their heads, "to reveale that they were vendible."

Here, then, we have the bush in connection with wine vending carried back to a remote antiquity; and through that period, as well as the succeeding one, when ale became the more popular liquor, the bush seems to have been used at Pershore in an unbroken succession. It is to be noted that the use of the "bush" at Pershore was not attempted on other occasions than fairs, but confined to them—a confirmation of the popular tradition that the two privileges (the holding of fairs and selling by the bush) had in some way a common origin and descended to them together, as a twin legacy from remote antiquity. Besides which, although Pershore fair faded away to two days, the custom was never to remove the bushes till the end of the third day; thus further identifying it with the ancient three days' fair. A similar custom, I was told, prevailed at Gloucester, where it was confined to a particular street, and was for the fair-day and three successive Mondays.

The informations laid by the excise at Pershore had the effect of putting a stop to the ancient custom there in 1863; but my friend, Mr. Allen, of Pershore, informs me that one spirited old dame still continues to carry it on, by calling upon her customers for the money, and procuring the beer from an inn close by, so that they may drink it upon her premises. Any visitor to Pershore fair in June would therefore probably still see a solitary bush hung out, as a relic of one of the most ancient customs of that town.

Curious Treasure-Trove.

A FEW months ago a brief account appeared in the local newspapers of some curiosities found in a hidden cavity of the cellar of a house in Broad-street, the residence of Mr. W. Davies, tobacconist, while making alterations and improvements in his premises. By the kindness of Mr. Davies I have been permitted to inspect this treasure-trove, and the following is a description of the articles. Early in the last century, it seems, the house belonged to Mr. Wyatt, the founder of certain almshouses in Friar-street, and was taken under a lease by Mr. Samuel Smith, a brazier, in 1718, who was succeeded by Mr. Gorle, in the same trade, till towards the close of the century. One of the articles found was a little book, in which the trading transactions of both parties were entered, and another was a file of bills, orders, letters, &c. By these we are admitted "behind the counter" as to the mode of conducting business in this city upwards of a century ago; and it was scarcely contemplated by Mr. Smith or Mr. Gorle, any more than it could have been by Mr. Pepys, the author of the celebrated "Diary," that so long after their bodies were turned to dust these little records of their doings and frailties while in the flesh would be published as a source of amusement to the world at large. Worcester, it appears, was for many centuries not only a kind of metropolis for a large district in this part of the marches between England and Wales, but also a depôt, or workshop, for the supply of all kinds of goods which could not otherwise have been obtained except from London or some other considerable distance. More than 600 years ago, Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford, sent his cook

to Worcester for a supply of cups, plates, and dishes for his Paschal entertainment at Colwall; so that the city was famous even then for its manufacture of table ware, though composed of a different material from that which has rendered its products celebrated in the present day. Here also the prelate sent for a bridle and saddle; so that Worcester might then have been—what it certainly was in after times—more advanced than Hereford in the arts of life. Also I find that in the times of Mr. Smith and Mr. Gorle, the braziers of Broad-street, Worcester was much relied on for its hardware and other domestic articles, this one shop alone in Broad-street doing business with tradesmen at Bristol, Gloucester, Hereford, Leominster, Ludlow, Tenbury, Bewdley, Campden, Winchcombe, Ledbury, Hay, Kington, Wolverhampton, &c. There is an entry on January 2, 1728, of the goods "packt up for Bristoll fayer" by Mr. Smith, consisting chiefly of tea-kettles, warming-pans, grates, coffee-pots, candlesticks, graters, &c. It would now seem a curious thing for the great and important city of Bristol ever to have required such things from Worcester, or that the fairs at the former city should have presented any opportunity whatever for a Worcester tradesman making a profit on goods of this kind after a long and expensive carriage.

On this subject, my friend, Mr. Rea, Clerk of the Peace for the city of Worcester, writes to me as follows :—

"I have heard my father say that Bristol fair was a great commercial mart, and lasted, I think, seven days. He visited it annually in his early days to buy skins for his trade as a glove manufacturer; he used to ride there and back on horseback, and I have heard him describe the stiffness he suffered from as an unpractised rider, after this journey of from fourteen to sixteen hours each way. I have no doubt that Bristol fair greatly resembles one I was present at in Lucerne in 1872. That was an industrial and commercial exhibition of nearly all the cantons, as Bristol used to be of the English counties. Bristol, at that time, held high rank in the West, and persons

from all parts of England frequented it, as also from Wales and Ireland. Carriage was heavy in those days, and the visit often taught persons that they had traders within easy reach who manufactured the commodities they dealt in, and to whom they were introduced."

On the above occasion the merchandise was packed up in three hogsheads, and was probably conveyed by the Severn, as I find entries of things returned to Worcester "by Mr. Jackson's trow." Barges and wherries are also mentioned, but no allusion is made to a "ketch"—a description of vessel which gave the name to an ancient inn of good repute still existing near the Severn, about two miles from Worcester. "Owner Beard's vessel from Upton" conveyed 20 frying-pans on one occasion; Owner Corker plied to and from Bewdley; and among the land carriers by waggon were Goulding from Ledbury and Hereford, Tuder from Kington, and Gaskell from Tenbury. It seems that Mr. Gorle procured his raw material or goods mainly from Macclesfield, as there is a letter from Charles Roe, of that place, in 1774, offering that if Mr. Gorle would send all his orders to him he (Mr. Roe) would not supply any other brazier in Worcester. Mr. Gorle obtained his "soder" from Messrs. Birch and Villiers, of Birmingham. Bells and bell-metal he got from Gloucester, at the celebrated establishment of the Rudhalls, and there is an interesting letter from Thomas Rudhall, dated June 3, 1774, in which the writer says that he can get a bell of 60lbs. weight cast in three weeks, at 18d. per lb., and would allow 12d. a lb. for the old bell. Sanders, the bell-founder of Bromsgrove, charged 12d. per lb. for St. Helen's bells, at Worcester, but then he had more than sufficient metal from the old peal. Both the Worcester and Bromsgrove bell-foundries had ceased long before Mr. Gorle obtained his supplies from Gloucester; and then the majority of the Wor-

cestershire bells were cast by Rudhall and his successor Mears. Some of Mr. Gorle's customers directed their letters to him as a brass-founder, others as a brazier, and others as a tinman. Many of them were free and uncompromising in their comments on his mode of doing business, and on the quality of the goods he supplied. One had ordered an article, which was sent to him at the end of six months; but, having in the meantime supplied himself elsewhere, he returns it to Mr. Gorle. Other goods were sent back as being too bad for sale. One indignant customer says, "You don't deceive me no longer;" and another remarks, "We are not so *emty* in Salop as you expect we are," thereby the writer (a Mr. Thomas Wright) wishing it to be understood that "the proud Salopians" were not in danger of being "taken in" by Mr. Gorle. Mr. C. Colloe, of Hereford, writes :—

"Sir,—I sent to you above a month ago for a cop'r hogs-head furnace which was wanting emediately, and as you did not send him, I have sent else were for him. I have two of your money scales returned back on my hands, being so very bad. Shall send them by ye post boy to you as being no use to me. This being all at present from your h'ble servant,
"Hereford, Nov. 15, 1773. "C. Colloe."

Among Mr. Gorle's difficulties in trade was that which even in the present day is not unknown among us, namely, the inability of purchasers to "cash up." A Tenbury man (D. Phillips) informs Mr. Gorle that "it is all trust with us till the hops come." This mode of living "from hand to mouth," and being dependent on crops and weather and accidents of various kinds, was therefore not exclusively characteristic of the present day. A letter from the Mr. Colloe mentioned above, dated 1774, affords another proof that the city of Hereford was a long way behind its neighbours in the arts and comforts of civilization. He requests Mr. Gorle to inform him how much oil a

lamp would burn in a night, and what was the price of common lamp oil per gallon, adding, "as we are going to have lamps here." Prior to this, of course, as at other places, the citizens of Hereford individually hung at each door a candle and lantern. Lamps are mentioned at Worcester many years earlier than at Hereford, namely, in 1708, at which time, singularly enough, the responsibility of keeping them lighted and in repair was allotted to the churchwardens of each parish. A curious incident relating to electioneering is brought to light in a letter from Mr. H. Hill, of Hereford, in 1773. He writes to Mr. Gorle thus :—

"Thomas Bywater, your old apprentice, desired I would acquaint you that he is willing to come over to Worcester to vote for your interest if you admit him his freedom and forgive him all past grievances. Please to send me a line by return of post if you are agreeable to have him over."

Bywater, no doubt, had misbehaved himself, and forfeited the good opinion of his master, who had it in his power to damage the lad's prospects in life by refusing to prove that due service which was requisite to his admission to the freedom of the city. But here was an opportunity in which the boy's services might atone for all past misdeeds. The master wished to secure a vote for the forthcoming Parliamentary election, and Bywater's vote was no doubt turned to account for the advantage of both parties.

My friend, Mr. R. W. Binns, reminds me that a very exciting election took place in this city in 1773-4, the principal incidents of which have been reported at length in "Oldfield's Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland." The contest was between Sir Watkin Lewes and Thomas Bates Rous, Esq. ; and it is evident that the votes of freemen were much sought after, which fully accounts for the above transaction between Bywater and his master.

Mr. Rea also observes :—

"I am old enough to remember the practice of making freemen, at the courts held for that purpose, in successive weeks before an election for this city. All that was then required was that a man should be on the freemen's roll and able to prove his identity if challenged; he might reside anywhere, and retain his right to vote. I remember Mr. Henry Deighton and Mr. Wollons posting from Worcester to York to vote, and their picking up Mr. Deighton at Bridgnorth on their way. In fact, such a trip was always regarded as a *cheap* and *dear* journey, to visit the place of the voter's nativity or early friendship."

To return to the contents of the old file of correspondence. Joseph Powell, of Leominster, sends to Mr. Gorle, apparently in payment of a bill, the sum of 20 guineas, and says, "There are three or four of the guineys that will not make a fair turn at 10d., but will verey at 1s." This probably refers to the varying value of guineas at that day, owing to their loss of weight by wear. Besides the above interesting documents there were found in Mr. Davies's cellar a number of short and broken tobacco pipes, similar in shape to those of the period of the Commonwealth; a female's shoe, or slipper, high-heeled; a pair of leather breeches, which had seen some service, and the pockets of which were quite worn out; also an old printed calendar of the sentences of prisoners tried at Gloucester in the Lent Assizes, March 17, 1770, in which the heaviest penalties of the law (death and transportation for life) were inflicted for trifling thefts and other offences.

The account of the above "find" is suggestive, and I hope will induce a little more interest in the search for hidden treasure. Some years since Mr. Binns had presented to him the oldest Worcester Directory now known, which was found in the roof of a house in Lich-street, along with a sword blade and some other articles. No doubt many a relic of former times, and interesting if not valuable deposits, hastily stored away

for safety during the civil wars or other periods of commotion and danger, may also yet be recovered from behind old wainscots, concealed cupboards, floors containing hidden trap-doors, walled-up recesses in cellars, and spaces underneath roofs, especially in the numerous old timber-framed houses which still remain in this city.

Names in Worcester.

THE origin, etymology, and history of names is a pleasant and interesting study, almost amounting to a pastime. It throws light not only on the histories of families, but on that of nations and peoples; discloses some of the great changes through which society has passed; reverts to a period in our history prior to the establishment of surnames; shows some of the machinery at work for the creation of those names, and brings closer to our observation the simple habits and customs of our forefathers. Pick up any directory, and by a little attention you will soon become satisfied of the truth of what I advance. The following notes were made from a local directory published five or six years ago:—

Perhaps the most numerous class of names has been derived from trades and occupations: thus we have Baker, Barber, Barker, Brewer, Butler, Butcher, Bailey, Carpenter, Chandler, Chamberlain, Cook, Cooper, Carter, Cartwright, Dyer, Digger, Farmer, Fletcher (a maker of bows and arrows), Fowler, Fisher, Gardener, Glover, Hunter, Hawker, Hooper, Hayward, Joyner, Mason, Miller, Ostler, Purser, Painter, Pitman, Porter, Packman, Potter, Parker, Roper, Spicer, Salter, Slater, Sadler, Shepherd, Skinner, Smith, Spooner, Scriven (a writer), Turner, Tanner, Taylor, Tyler, Weaver, Walker, Wheeler, Woodward, Wainwright. Perhaps there is not one of these who now follows the business or occupation which first gave the distinctive names to their ancestors: the Taylors now existing, to the best of my belief, never measured a yard of cloth, nor the Barbers shaved a single citizen, while the head of the Millers here (then Canon Miller) is doing much better as a member of our

Capitular body; a Butler is driving a thriving trade as a clothier, and a Farmer contents himself not with producing but with selling agricultural produce (cheese and bacon); there are Brewers more capable of training the youthful intellect than of distinguishing malt from barley; Parkers well versed in the law, Butchers famous for their style of cutting trousers, Cooks who can appreciate a good dinner without ever having a hand in its preparation, Fishers not distinguished for catching salmon, Carters who have never driven a team; and lastly, Weavers, Walkers, Webbs, and Woof, who have had no connection whatever with the clothing trade, once the mainstay of Worcester.

Ranks and titles are well represented: we have an Emperor, a King, a Prince, a Royal, a Marcus, an Earl, a Lord, a Marshall, and a Millard (my lord); the Church can produce a Bishop, a Deane, a Priest, a Fryer, a Chaplin, Clarkes, Parsons, and a Surman; the Army and the Bar have a Sergeant, and the municipality a Sherriff; there is a Squire and a Rich, a Burgess, a Bond, and a Freeman, Masters and a Page and Butler, but no Workman; and, if you require a genuine specimen of the latter article, the nearest place that I know of is the neighbourhood of Evesham.

Geographical names are in great abundance, and in general indicate the original habitat of the founder of the family. In the Middle Ages monks were usually known by the names of their native places, as Florence of Worcester, William of Malmesbury, &c. There are in Worcester these names among others: England, Essex, Cheshire, Leicester, Devonport, Stafford, Reading, Eaton, Osborne, Bedford, Hastings, Stratford, Wakefield, Wells, Weston, Bristow, Berwick, Burton, Ross, Broughton, Honeybourne, Bruton, Darby, Tipton, Grimley, Yardley, France, French, Holland, Wales, and Welch. Besides those of the above names ending in *ton* (town), there are Acton, Aston, Ashton, Bolton,

Boughton, Bickerton, Brereton, Clapton, Clifton, Colston, Cotton, Crompton, Everton, Felton, Fitton, Frampton, Horton, Howton, Linton, Littleton, Marston, Middleton, Millington, Moreton, Newton, Overton, Pemberton, Pendleton, Rushton, Stinton, Sefton, Shrimpton, Somerton, Sutton, Thornton, Watton, Wootton, Wormington, Witherington, and Worthington. And I may also add the following geographical, or, more properly descriptive names: Appleyard, Atwood, Broadfield, Broadhouse, Bridges, Brooks, Birch, Burrow, Broomfield, Dingle, Dyke, Fenn, Field, Ford, Foss, Greenwood, Heath, Hill, Hillman, Harber, Holloway, Lane, Langbridge, Langston, Langdon, Langford, Langridge, Langley, Littlebury, Lightwood, Moore, Poole, Street, Townsend, Underhill, Underwood, Winwood, Wells, and Wood.

The last batch of names being intimately connected with natural objects, it should here be stated that a person who had raised his dwelling near some prominent landmark or other conspicuous feature in the country was frequently distinguished thereby, as John of the Tree, George of the Grove, William of the Oak, Giles of the Ash; and the Worcestershire historian, Nash, says that the names Nash and Noake were originally Ash and Oak, but that the country people vulgarly prefix an *n* to a great many words, such as *nuncle* for uncle, *noddy* for oddity, &c. Hence John of the Ash would soon become John o'Nash and then plain John Nash, &c. In speaking of natural objects, I must not forget the elements—Ayre, Airey, and Waters, Evans, and Starr; the crust of the earth—Chalk, Stone, Hiron, Brass, Clay; the seasons—Summers and Winters, Day and Knight: the vegetable and floral world—Oates, Flowers, Lilly, Rose, Moss, Budd, Plant, Tree, Onions, Pollard, Grove, Wood, Spray, Withey, Broom, Thorn, Berry, Barley, Rice, Hay, Hayes, Haycox, Haywood, Garland; animals, fowls, birds, and fish—Ogg, Hogg,

Buck and Doe, Hart, Bull and Bullock, Veale, Lamb, Griffin, Badger, Mole, Swann, Duck and Drake, Mallard, Gosling, Cock, Bird, Finch, Peacock, Crane, Crowe, Fowles, Partridge, Starling, Martin, Raven, Kite, Pye, Swift, and Dickie, Salmon, Eales, and Herring ; and of the fruits of the earth—Plum, Peach, Beer, Salt, and Perry.

The moral and physical qualities of our race are represented by Long and Little, Lusty and Stalworth, Keen and Sharpe, Bright and Spark, Wright and Best, Smart and Hardy, Gabb and Stutter, Cross and Darling, Meek and Goodman, Godwin and Hope, Cant and Quarrell, Savage and Strange, Power and Witts, Merryman and Gailey, Rider and Coward, Goodyear and Hopewell, Lyes and Allies, Everill and Reacher, Hardman and Woodhead, Godfrey, Close, Crisp, Hale, Handy, Rayson, Quarterman, Carless, and Outlaw. Then there are Eld, Young, and Holden (Old'un), New and Newman, Abells many but no Cain ; a Male, a Man, a Manwaring, and a Manning ; and a number of names having two syllables although *all* is in the first : Allchin, Allgood (deceased), Allcock, Allies, Allforth, Allsop, Allcroft, and Allcott.

Antitheses there are, thus : a Laugher and a Town Crier (excuse the introduction of a noun which is not a proper one) ; a Paine and a No-ake (ache) ; but then there are also coincidences, as Lucy and Virgo ; Guy and Fawkes ; Kettle and Potts ; Cole and Collier ; Mee and Self ; Philpott, Pitcher, and Firkins ; Price, Sale, and Purchas ; a Pegg and Lines ; and one-sided conditions, as a Tenant without a Landlord, a Locke without a Key, a Link without a Chain, a Penn without Ink, a Pipe without Tobacco, a Cock without a Hen, a Gosling without a Goose ; a West, but no other cardinal point if we except a South-all ; Mills and a Millward without Water, a Wale without Blubber, and a Broom without a Handle.

Poetry, literature, and science have their representatives in Milton, Spencer, Gray, Blair, Watts, Scott, Browning, Baxter, Dickins, Dodd, Hobbs, Hood, Pardoe, Hall, Newton, Locke; politics in a Pitt and a Peel; music in Harper and Horniblow; nationalities in Norman, Scott, and Welsh; teetotalism in Waterworth and Drinkwater.

Not a few names have been obtained from the fact of the owners having had a known and recognised father or mother at the period of the first introduction of surnames; thus Jackson was the son of Jack, Johnson the son of John, and so generally with Benson, Copson, Corson, Dixon (son of Dick), Evanson, Eveson, Gibson, Grierson (shortened, I expect, from Gregorson), Hobson, Hutchinson, Hodgson, Hewertson, Harrison (Harry's son), Hanson (Ann's son), Kitson (Kitty's son), Manison, Nicholson, Pearson, Robertson, Richardson, Robinson, Simpson (Simon's son), Stephenson, Thomasson, Thompson, Wilson, Williamson, Waterson, and Wilkinson. To account for some of the above names it must be recollected that we are not acquainted with all the Christian or Pagan names to which the syllable *son* was appended. Welsh origins of names are frequently traceable in Worcester in the same manner as the last-mentioned: *Ap* (meaning "the son of") being prefixed to names, Ap Hugh speedily became Pugh, Ap Howell is now Powell, Ap Richard is Prichard, Ap Robert is Probert, Ap Reece is Preece, Ap Rice is Price, Ap Humphrey is Pumphrey, &c.

The colours are not complete, but there are Brown, Green, White, Gray, Roan, Darke, Dunn, Browning, Greening, Greenway, Greenhap, Whiteman, Whiting, Whitely, Whitfield, Whitgrove, Whitmarsh, Whitwell.

We are also reminded of buildings and premises, thus—Kirk, Isles, Howse, Hall, Kitchen, Ovens, Garrett, Till, Stables, Thache, Wall, Bell, Woodhouse, Court, Dyke, Stiles, and Bowers.

A few names end *well:* Coldwell, Capewell, Caswell, Foxwell, Fulwell, Hopewell, Oswell, and Shelswell.

There is a Brokenbrow who probably has never been in a fight, a Brace who numbers but one, a Stewart not descended from royalty, a Vernal and Vernon who are anything but *green*, a Crook and Hook by no means deformed, a Banner seldom displayed, a Ball not to be played with, a Beard of decent growth, a Butt but no other cask, Armour for a Knight, a Hand and a Gold-ring for those who Needham, a Pointer and a Partridge, a Stock and a Stone, a Peake not rugged nor inaccessible, a Knott well twisted, a short Knapp, Miles of Cotton and other Ware, and a Burrow with several Wards.

There are likewise Bibbs and Tuckers, Box and Cox, Sidebottom and Longbottom, Grubb and Bunn, Bridle and Saddler, a Palmer whose ancestor was a pilgrim to the Holy Land; and the curious names (of which you may Read a Rowe) of Cockbill, Larkworthy, Hurley, Jordan, Hartshorne, Knipe, Pidcock, Mace, Wagstaff, Mayfield, concluding with the inevitable and oft-repeated Brown, Jones, and Robinson.

Worcestershire Old Bells.

"Still may they ring when struggles cease,
Still may they ring for joy's increase,
For progress in the arts of peace,
And friendly trophies won.
When rival nations join their hands,
When plenty crowns the happy lands,
When knowledge gives new blessings birth,
And freedom reigns o'er all the earth.
Hurrah! the work is done."

A FEW historical notes relative to bells in general, bells in Worcestershire, and the old bells of our Cathedral, may not be considered out of place in a work devoted to "relics."

For nearly fourteen centuries bells have been employed in the Christian church, and they were known to ancient nations for probably as many centuries before. In the book of Exodus we read of the use of small bells upon the skirts of Aaron's garment, and they were known to other nations of the ancient world, as appears from Martial, Pliny, Suetonius, &c. The earliest bells were probably mere sheets of metal curled into a circular shape and riveted together at their junction, the top being flattened in. These were struck on the outside by a hammer having no connection with the bell itself. This, of course, produced no very exquisite tone; but gradually they developed into shape and size, and Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, in Campania, has the credit of enlarging and adapting them to the use of churches, about the year 400. The earliest name for bells—"nola" and "campana"—would seem to point to the above-named locality as their birth-place; but a favourite and expressive mediæval name for a church bell was "signum," as

appears from one of the Record publications, wherein it is stated that a certain Irish Bishop, who was also suffragan to the see of Worcester, was sent to Tewkesbury to consecrate two new bells for the Abbey Church in that town, and the legal term employed for them was "duo magna signa." There is no reason to doubt that bells formed a portion of the furniture of churches before the Norman conquest; and judging from the vast size of Norman towers it is probable that church bells had at that time reached their largest dimensions in this country, and also attained a perfection not since surpassed. It is said that the Chancellor Turketul, in the reign of Edmund I., was the first who had bells cast in England, and that his successor, as Abbot of Croyland, caused the first tuneable set to be put up in that abbey in the year 960. At the present day no bells of ascertained Norman date remain, but it is exceedingly difficult to guess the exact date of the oldest bells that have come down to our times. The oldest known bells bear the simple name of the saint to whom they were dedicated, like that of St. Wulstan in the old peal of Worcester Cathedral ("In honore S'ti Wolstani Epi"), and which has very unfortunately been now alienated and sold.

Church bells were generally dedicated either to one of the personages of the Holy Trinity, some saint, angel, or distinguished personage. Great Tom of Lincoln was dedicated to the Holy Ghost. Pope John IV. (7th century) gave his name to the great bell of St. John Lateran; and John XIII., in 968, first gave positive instruction for the benediction of a bell, the gift of the Emperor Otho, and oil and chrism were used in its unction. Long previous to that time, however, there had been a superstition prevailing in some places of immersing bells in water, as in baptism, but this was protested against by Charlemagne, and there seems to have been no authority for more than sprink-

ling a new bell with holy water. By some of the older canonists, churches were said to be baptised when the rite of dedication only was intended. Recently the Bishops of Oxford and Salisbury have dedicated bells, as in the parallel instances of former prelates consecrating altar plate, fonts, and other church furniture. Much superstition prevailed with regard to bells: their sound was supposed to drive away evil spirits from a soul just leaving the body, and hence the "passing bell," which also invited the prayers of all Christians on behalf of the departing spirit; they were believed to disperse tempestuous clouds, to extinguish fires, and even to ward off noxious epidemics and the plague. Their general uses were summed up in the following lines, frequently applied to bells, which it will be seen, further on, differed but slightly from an inscription on one of the ancient bells of Worcester Cathedral :—

"Laudo Deum verum, plebem voco, congrego clerum,
Defunctus ploro, pestem (nimbum) fugo, festa decoro (or que honoro)."

At Ledbury a legend relates that St. Katharine had a revelation that she was to travel about, and not rest at any place, till she heard the bells ringing of their own accord. This was done by the Ledbury bells on her approaching that town, and hence the saint took up her abode there. Great ceremonial, as well as superstition, was connected with the use of bells. The Council of Lateran imposed a fine of 100 ducats upon any church which rang its bells before the Cathedral on Easter Eve; and at Bath, on Sundays, no parish church was allowed to ring before the Abbey had chimed for high mass. At the Reformation, bells were looked upon as one of the Romish superstitions, and among the other things said to have been "violated and overthrown" by Hooper, then Bishop of Worcester, were the bells of our Cathedral. We have,

however, outlived that objection, and can afford to sanction and enjoy the rational and proper use of bells on all fitting occasions. Nay, I have occasionally listened with much pleasure to the curfew of St. Helen's and the "plum-pudding bell" of St. Martin's,* as reminiscences of ancient customs, and times and generations long departed :—

> "The bells themselves are the best of preachers,
> Their brazen lips are learned teachers,
> From their pulpits of stone in the upper air,
> Sounding aloft without crack or flaw,
> Shriller than trumpets under the law—
> Now a sermon and now a prayer."

As my good old friend, the Rev. Mr. Ellacombe, justly observes, "The music of bells is so interwoven with the principal events of a Christian life that there is good reason for specially dedicating them to holy purposes in a building set apart wholly to God. They preach to all of death and judgment, of heaven and hell ; they invite the loiterer and absentee ; warn the neglecter of God's ordinances, and urge the Christian to pursue his course heavenward ; they preach to those who never hear another preacher, and who seldom or never come within the walls of God's sacred house of prayer." And few there are who are not susceptible of the sweet and even sometimes saddening influences of a peal from a church steeple when heard on a Christmas night in the stillness of the country, or across the water from some distance on a summer's eve—

> "In cadence sweet now dying all away,
> Now pealing loud again and louder still,
> Clear and sonorous, as the gale comes on."

Bell foundries in the middle ages were generally attached to monasteries. London, Salisbury, and Gloucester, were then famous for this interesting branch

* So called in allusion to the Christmas festivities, of which its ringing was a precursor at one time.

of art. In the 16th and 17th centuries there was scarcely a large town in England without its foundry, for the introduction of change-ringing had revolutionised the science of the ringer as well as the art of the founder, and rendered both highly popular. Previously to that time there were but small peals of three, four, or five bells in the largest churches, and these were chimed and tolled ; but change-ringing caused them to be reduced in weight and multiplied in number, forming peals of eight, ten, and twelve. The first peal of twelve was hung at York in 1681. About that time the principal founders in this district were John Martin, of Worcester, who carried on his trade in a yard in Silver-street, still known to old inhabitants as Bellfounders'-yard ; Richard Sanders, of Bromsgrove ; Joseph Smith, of Birmingham ; and the great Gloucester foundry. The Worcester foundry was not continued many years. Martin was employed in "casting and hanging the second bell" of St. Michael's, Worcester, in 1660 ; he also contributed to the peals at Bishampton, Himbleton, and Grafton Flyford. On the third bell of Himbleton church is the inscription—

> "John Martin, of Worcester, he made wee,
> Be it known to all that do wee see. 1675."

Richard Sanders, of Bromsgrove, had evidently greater fame than his Worcester competitor, judging from the extensive circulation of his work in this neighbourhood. His name will be found in the steeples of St. Helen's (1706), St. John's (1710), and St. Nicholas (1715), in this city ; Dodderhill, Tanworth, &c. His famous octave in St. Helen's tower are distinguished for their curious inscriptions in honour of Queen Anne and Marlborough's victories over the French. These eight bells were cast by Mr. Sanders out of five previously existing ones, and Mr. Sanders was allowed the certainly not extravagant sum of £70 for his

services, which contrasts somewhat broadly with the expense of similar work in our own day. When Mr. Sanders was engaged on the bells of St. John's, Worcester, a levy of 6d. in the £ was made on that parish to defray the charge for casting, and a sum of £1. 4s. 11d. was allowed by the vestry "for meat and drink for ye gentlemen who gave judgment on ye bells." These gentlemen were probably of the Cathedral choir, called in to give an opinion as to whether the new bells were in tune. Many years before the vestry of St. Andrew's parish had "Laide out on ye singinge men of ye College for hearing ye tune of ye belles, 6d." The Birmingham bell-founder (Smith, of Edgbaston) was noted for the peals of Northfield and Coleshill, both of which remain intact as they left the foundry in 1720 and 1721, and those of Halesowen, Alvechurch, Sedgley, St. Philip's, Birmingham, and many others. After Smith's time bell-founding became extinct in Birmingham for upwards of a century and a quarter, till recently revived by the enterprising firm of Messrs. Blews, New Bartholomew-street.

In the last century most of the small foundries became absorbed in the two great establishments of Gloucester and Whitechapel. The former had existed for many centuries. John of Gloucester having been a noted bell-founder there in the 13th century; but under the Rudhall family it came into great note in the last century, upon the decline of the Salisbury trade. The majority of the Worcestershire bells were cast by the Rudhalls and their successor, Mears; Chapman and Mears, of London, towards the close of the last century, and T. Mears, of London, in the present, also have their names in some places, as at Kingsnorton, and the name will be found likewise on the bells of Dudley, Stourbridge, Fladbury, Longdon, Cookley, Abberley, Stone, and St. John's, Worcester.

The Clent bells are by Bagley, whose services were much called into requisition in Warwickshire. Lester and Peck, of London, founded some of the Halesowen bells a century ago. The Bretforton peal is by Westcote, of Bristol (1823). When the Gloucester foundry was amalgamated with that at Whitechapel, at the beginning of the present century, the latter may have been said to be the foundry for all England ; but with the recent revival in all matters affecting churches, bells have not been forgotten, and there are now some half-dozen foundries in the kingdom, namely, Messrs. Taylor, of Loughborough (the founder of the new bells at Worcester Cathedral), and who are successors to the firm of Watts, Eayres, and Arnold, which for two centuries existed at Leicester and St. Neots ; Mears, of Whitechapel ; Warner, of Cripplegate ; Blews, of Birmingham ; Barwell, of Birmingham ; and Murphy, of Dublin.

As with the art of glass painting, we have yet much to learn on the subject of bell-founding ere we can arrive at the perfection attained some three centuries ago, when the following inscription was honestly used :—

"Me melior vere
Non est campana sub ere."

Which may be liberally interpreted thus—

"A better bell than I
Is not under the sky."

Quality of tone should be the great object aimed at, and this of course is affected by the proportions of metal used and the thickness and shape of the bells. It is a great error to go for cheapness in their manufacture, as quality cannot be produced by a thinness of metal, and it is infinitely better to have our steeples altogether silent than to vex and annoy the ears of the whole neighbourhood with the horrid jangling of bells constructed on the "cheap and nasty" principle.

Like wine, good bells will improve by age, and year after year we become more charmed and delighted with them. The Rev. J. H. Sperling, a good authority, assures us that no bell, be it made ever so skilfully, sounds so well at first as after it has been hung some years. There is an atmospheric effect, a process of oxidation, though very gradual, which goes on improving and mellowing the quality of tone as years advance. The colour of a bell changes in a few months : a greenish tint and crust come upon it ; and after a long course of years the surface becomes slightly uneven, just as we are accustomed to note the process of de-vitrification in ancient painted glass. It is probably to this process that the peculiarly quaint tone of the most ancient bells is attributable.

From the inventories of church goods, ordered by Government in 1553, and now deposited in the Public Record Office, I find that the Worcester churches were at that time supplied with bells as follows :—All Saints, five bells, a sanctus bell, a clock, and chimes. A sanctus, or saunce-bell, or saint's bell, was rung in the bell-cot *outside a church* at the singing of the "Ter Sanctus," in the High Mass, in order that those who were absent from church, whether in the house, the field, or the highway, should bow their knees at the sound. The sacring bell was rung *inside a church*, as a warning of devotion while the elements were blessed, and the people knelt while the host was elevated ; the second sacring was the crossing of the chalice with the host. St. Alban's Church, two little bells, a burial bell, and two sacring bells ; St. Andrew's, three bells and sanctus bell ; St. Clement's, four bells in the steeple and a little sanctus bell ; St. Helen's, five great bells and a little sanctus bell ; St. John's, three bells and a sanctus ; St. Martin's, three little bells and a sanctus ; St. Michael's, in the bell-house,*

* Was this the clochium, or lead steeple, which stood close to the

three bells, and one other bell called "a first mass bell;" St. Nicholas, five small bells, with a sanctus and two little sacring bells; St. Peter's, three bells, with sanctus; St. Swithin's, four bells in the frame, and one for the clock, and one little bell. There was also "a pair of organs" in almost every church.

The first mention of Worcester Cathedral bells in the local records is in connection with the clochium, or great bell-tower, which was an isolated building standing a few yards from and on the north side of the Cathedral, close to the old church of St. Michael. There is no certain authority for the date or origin of this tower, but it is recorded that in the year 1220 "the great bells were cast by or in the time of W. de Bradewe, the sacristan, and were by Bishop de Blois consecrated in honour of the Saviour and his Mother, and Hautclere in honour of St. John the Evangelist, *cum pari suo.*" These bell-towers, or campaniles, are an illustration of the influence which bells had on church architecture in a variety of ways; and the campaniles of Ledbury, Bosbury, and Worcester, the two former of which are still standing, were the principal mediæval specimens in this neighbourhood. Local historians say that the bells were taken out of the Worcester clochium, and transferred to the great tower of the Cathedral, when the latter was erected in 1374; but in a manuscript "Chronologia," among the Cathedral records, under the same date, it is said that "the sacrist took the small bell of the *three* then hanging in the clochium, and placed it in the new tower as a clock bell," and it is certain that some bells were left in the clochium, as in a compotus roll of the date of 1424 this term occurs :—

> "Sol'm Egidio Smyth p' d'vis ferrament. faciend. p' campanis in magno campanule pendend. xxxiii s."

little church of St. Michael? It is recorded that all bells were removed from the clochium in 1539.

That is—"Paid to E. Smyth for ironwork to the bells hanging in the great campanile, 33s." Also, in Bishop Blandford's manuscript it is stated that at the Reformation the *four* bells in the leaden steeple (clochium) were taken down and carried away. And this probably explains the petition afterwards sent to Queen Mary by the Dean and Chapter of Worcester, praying for the restoration of (among other things) the bells which Bishop Hooper had "violated and overthrown." That there were four bells in the clochium, besides the clock bell, is proved by an extract from one of Prior Moore's books, in the early part of the 16th century:—

"The scripture upon the iiii bells in the leddon stepull.
The furst bell—Campanas dia serves has Virgo Maria.
The second bell—Cristus vincit, Cristus regnat, Cristus imperat, Cristus nos ab omni malo.
The iii bell—Johannes Lyndesey, hoc opere impleto, Christi virtute faveto.
The iiii bell—Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum.
The clock bell—Thomâ Mildenam, priore. En ego campana, nunquam denuncio vana; laudo Deum eternum, plebum voco, congrego clerum. Funera plango, fulgura frango, sabbata pango, excito lentos, dissipo ventos, paco cruentos."

Lyndsey, whose name is attached to the third bell in the above list, was sacrist in 1372, which gives us the date of that bell; and Mildenham, who figures on the clock bell, was prior in 1507. The first and second bells were probably those before alluded to as having been cast in 1220 in honour of the Saviour and his mother. The bells in the clochium, however, were carried away at the Reformation (1539), and probably melted. There is no record of what bells were then in the Cathedral tower, but when Dr. Thomas wrote his "Survey" there were eight, having these inscriptions: 1. "God save the King;" 2 (blank); 3 (blank); 4. "Honi Soit," &c.; 5. "Richardo Edes, Decano, 1602;" 6. "Hoc opus impleto, Jesu virtute faveto;"

7. "Habeo nomen Gabrielis, missi de celis;" 8. "I sweetly touling, men do call, to taste on meat that feeds the soul." Of these, two (Nos. 6 and 7) seem by the style of their inscriptions to have been pre-Reformation bells, and the others apparently of the 17th century. Although some of their number were good bells individually, they were irregular and ineffective as a peal; and, therefore, when the great and costly restoration of the Cathedral was taken in hand a few years ago, and above all, the admirable restoration of the tower by the munificence of the Earl of Dudley, it was considered that the renovation of the fabric necessitated an improvement or renewal of the bells. To achieve this heavy task was the special object voluntarily undertaken by the Rev. R. Cattley, whose success in the work is well known. As, however, my book deals with "relics" only, a description of the splendid peal of new bells at the Cathedral would be here out of place, and I shall confine my attention to the old ones, as they were removed from the Cathedral tower in the year 1868. They were then seven in number, the second in the peal of eight having been stolen whilst the work of restoration was going on in the Cathedral! The first of the remaining seven bore the inscription "God save the King, 1640." Two of the seven were modern—dates, 1820 and 1830—another bore no inscription; the fifth and sixth were those which are numbered six and seven in Dr. Thomas's account (see above); and one bore the inscription "In honore S'ti Wolstani Epi." This was probably an ancient bell, and if so it is strange that no mention was made of it by Dr. Thomas or any of the historians. As St. Wulstan was one of the patron saints of the Cathedral, and the establishment owed a large portion of its revenues and almost its existence to him, those who cling to old associations will regret that the alienation of this ancient relic—or heir-loom

if we may so call it—was considered an indispensable part of the programme for the renewal of the Cathedral peal. So it was, however, and St. Wulstan's bell now, as also the rest of the old peal, have been expatriated; one is at Holy Trinity Church, Shrub-hill; one is gone to Wolverhampton, another to Dewsbury, and the remainder were purchased by Mr. Tyssen Amherst, then High Sheriff of Norfolk, who has erected in his park a campanile for their reception.

Dr. Nash,

THE HISTORIAN OF WORCESTERSHIRE.

ANYTHING relating to that indefatigable and careful compiler of Worcestershire history, Dr. Nash, must be interesting to my readers. I have therefore to state that the ancient mansion of that family—St. Peter's Manor-house, one of the most picturesque buildings of the olden time in the neighbourhood of Droitwich—was recently restored and enlarged. This fine half-timbered and gabled structure, in its previously dilapidated state, was an object of some interest and curiosity to the antiquary, and much attention was paid to it on the occasion of a visit of the Worcester Architectural Society a few years ago. Unfortunately no ghost story seems to have been ever connected with the building, and hence it does not possess all the characteristics necessary for the scene of a romance. To come to sober history: this manor was originally called Canon's-place, and belonged to the Priory of Studley; after the dissolution it passed through a number of private hands until, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, James Nash had one share in the manor and patronage, Sergeant Wild having two other shares; and after the death of the Sergeant his share was purchased by Richard Nash, who transmitted the whole to his descendants.

Branches of the Nash family have been located in various parts of the county. One portion was seated at Hanbury, *temp.* Henry IV., and there was a meadow in that parish called "Nash's Meadow." The name was of great antiquity in Kempsey, Robertus de Fraxino (Latin for Robert of the Ash, which in Worcestershire

vernacular was corrupted to Robert o' Nash,) being there at the time of Domesday, and living at a place called The Ash, or Nash. The Nashes of St. Peter's, Droitwich, were descended from those of Ombersley, where the family had resided before the Reformation, and were tenants to the Abbey of Evesham. The earliest mention of them in the register of St. Peter's, Droitwich, is the death of John, eldest son of James Nash, in 1618. In that same year the mansion which was the family seat, and forming so picturesque a neighbour to the old parish church, was erected. About 1630, James Nash divided his property, giving his estate at Martley to his son by a second wife, named Richard, who was M.P. for Worcester, and John, also holding the same office, who commanded a troop of horse, and was an active J.P. in the time of Cromwell; he (John) was also an eminent clothier and Alderman of Worcester, where he founded an hospital, &c. He likewise left to his family an estate at Clerkenleap, Kempsey, which seems to have been occupied for some time as one of the family seats. The Nashes, who owned the manor and patronage of St. Peter's, Droitwich, provided 'squires and incumbents for that parish for many generations, down to the commencement of the present century, and resided in the hall which is the subject of this notice. Dr. Nash, the historian, was born at Clerkenleap in 1725, and in 1761 presented himself to the vicarage of St. Peter's, Droitwich, on the death of the Rev. Salwey Nash. Soon after his marriage, in 1758, Dr. Nash purchased an estate at Bevere, where, to use his own words, he built "a strong and useful house," though perhaps imprudently so, on account of the tenure being copyhold under the Bishop of Worcester. Here he resided till his death, in 1811, but seems to have performed the duties pertaining to the vicarage of St. Peter's, as his signature constantly occurs in the register; and in his history he describes

himself as of St. Peter's and of Bevere. He was buried in the family vault at St. Peter's, Droitwich, where he himself had, before his death, put up an inscription to his memory. The Rev. J. Ingram succeeded the Nashes as incumbents in 1810.

By the marriage of Dr. Nash's only child, Margaret, with Lord Somers, the estates fell to the latter family, and the old mansion and land at St. Peter's, Droitwich, was sold by the present Earl to the late Mr. Wilson, of Impney, whose father had occupied it as a farm for many years. For some 30 years the old house was afterwards tenanted by a labourer only, the principal rooms being used for hops and wool. Fortunately, it then fell into the right hands, for Mr. Wilson incurred great expense (under the management of Mr. Day, architect, of this city) not only in restoring the building, but in enlarging and materially adding to its accommodations. There is a dove-cot of apparently the same date as the house, and the surroundings are those of a good old manor-house of some distinction. The principal front, which faces the north, has three gables, and there are two gables in the west; the other sides being irregular. There are three storeys, and a handsome new doorway or porch of the same style as the building, with the dates in the spandrils "B. 1618"—"R. 1867." These are the dates of the original building and the commencement of the recent restoration. The principal apartment is oak panelled, and has plaster ornamentations of foliage and scroll-work over the mantelpiece. The windows have oak mullions and transoms, but plate-glass has superseded the old lozenge panes. Most of the interior of the building has been renovated and remodelled, and large additions are made on the south side for farm purposes. The work seems to have been admirably done, and with as much respect for antiquity as was consistent with modern requirements.

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